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THE

PROSE WORKS

OF

JOHN MILTON;

WITH

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

INTERSPERSED WITH

TRANSLATIONS AND CRITICAL REMARKS,

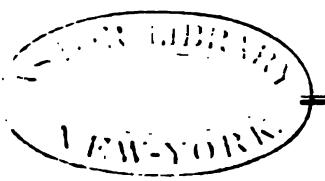
BY

CHARLES SYMMONS, D.D.

OF JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.



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THE

HISTORY OF BRITAIN,

That Part eſpecially, now called ENGLAND;

From the Firſt Traditional Beginning, continued to the

NORMAN CONQUEST.

Collected out of the ancienteſt and beſt Authors thereof.

Publiſhed from a Copy corrected by the Author himſelf.

THE FIRST BOOK.

THE beginning of nations, thoſe excepted of whom ſacred books have ſpoken, is to this day unknown. Nor only the beginning, but the deeds alſo of many ſucceeding ages, yea, periods of ages, either wholly unknown, or obſcured and blemiſhed with fables. Whether it were that the uſe of letters came in long after, or were it the violence of barbarous inundations, or they themſelves at certain revolutions of time, fatally decaying, and degenerating into ſloth and ignorance; whereby the monuments of more ancient civility have been ſome deſtroyed, ſome loſt. Perhaps diſeſteem and contempt of the public affairs then preſent, as not worth recording, might partly be in cauſe. Certainly ofttimes we ſee that wiſe men, and of beſt ability, have forborn to write the acts of their own days, while they beheld with a juſt loathing and diſdain, not only how unworthy, how perverſe, how corrupt, but often how ignoble, how petty, how below all hiſtory the perſons and their actions were; who, either by fortune or ſome rude election,

had attained as a ſore judgment and ignominy upon the land, to have chief ſway in managing the commonwealth. But that any law, or ſuperſtition of our philoſophers, the Druids, forbad the Britains to write their memorable deeds, I know not why any out of Cæſar * ſhould allege: he indeed ſaith, that their doctrine they thought not lawful to commit to letters; but in moſt matters elſe, both private and public, among which well may hiſtory be reckoned, they uſed the Greek tongue; and that the Britiſh Druids, who taught thoſe in Gaul, would be ignorant of any language known and uſed by their diſciples, or ſo frequently writing other things, and ſo inquiſitive into higheſt, would for want of recording be ever children in the knowledge of times and ages, is not likely. Whatever might be the reaſon, this we find, that of Britiſh affairs, from the firſt peopling of the iſland to the coming of Julius Cæſar, nothing certain, either by tradition, hiſtory, or ancient fame, hath hitherto been left us. That which we have of oldeſt ſeeming, hath by the greater part of judicious antiquaries been long rejected for a modern fable.

Nevertheleſs there being others, beſides the firſt ſuppoſed author, men not unread, nor unlearned in antiquity, who admit that for approved ſtory, which the former explode for fiction; and ſeeing that ofttimes relations heretofore accounted fabulous have been after found to contain in them many footſteps and reliques of ſomething true, as what we read in poets of the flood, and giants little believed, till undoubted witneſſes taught us, that all was not feigned; I have therefore determined to beſtow the telling over even of theſe reputed tales; be it for nothing elſe but in favour of our Engliſh poets and rhetoricians, who by their art will know how to uſe them judiciouſly.

I might alſo produce example, as Diodorus among the Greeks, Livy and others among the Latins, Polydore and Virunnius accounted among our own writers. But I intend not with controverſies and quotations to delay or interrupt the ſmooth courſe of hiſtory; much leſs to

* Cæſ. l. 6.

argue

argue and debate long who were the firſt inhabitants, with what probabilities, what authorities each opinion hath been upheld; but ſhall endeavour that which hitherto hath been needed moſt, with plain and lightſome brevity, to relate well and orderly things worth the noting, ſo as may beſt inſtruct and benefit them that read. Which, imploring divine aſſiſtance, that it may redound to his glory, and the good of the Britiſh nation, I now begin.

THAT the whole earth was inhabited before the flood, and to the utmoſt point of habitable ground from thoſe effectual words of God in the creation, may be more than conjectured. Hence that this iſland alſo had her dwellers, her affairs, and perhaps her ſtories, even in that old world thoſe many hundred years, with much reaſon we may infer. After the flood, and the diſperſing of nations, as they journeyed leiſurely from the eaſt, Gomer the eldeſt ſon of Japhet, and his offspring, as by authorities, arguments, and affinity of divers names is generally believed, were the firſt that peopled all theſe weſt and northern climes. But they of our own writers, who thought they had done nothing, unleſs with all circumſtance they tell us when, and who firſt ſet foot upon this iſland, preſume to name out of fabulous and counterfeit authors a certain Samothes or Dis, a fourth or ſixth ſon of Japhet, (who they make, about 200 years after the flood, to have planted with colonies, firſt the continent of Celtica or Gaul, and next this iſland; thence to have named it Samothea,) to have reigned here, and after him lineally four kings, Magus, Saron, Druis, and Bardus. But the forged Beroſus, whom only they have to cite, no where mentions that either he, or any of thoſe whom they bring, did ever paſs into Britain, or ſend their people hither. So that this outlandiſh figment may eaſily excuſe our not allowing it the room here ſo much as of a Britiſh fable.

That which follows, perhaps as wide from truth, though ſeeming leſs impertinent, is, that theſe Samotheans under the reign of Bardus were ſubdued by Albion, a giant, ſon of Neptune; who called the iſland after his own name, and ruled it 44 years. Till at length

paſſing over into Gaul, in aid of his brother Leſtrygon, againſt whom Hercules was haſting out of Spain into Italy, he was there ſlain in fight, and Bergion alſo his brother.

Sure enough we are, that Britain hath been anciently termed Albion, both by the Greeks and Romans. And Mela, the geographer, makes mention of a ſtony ſhore in Languedoc, where by report ſuch a battle was fought. The reſt, as his giving name to the iſle, or even landing here, depends altogether upon late ſurmiſes. But too abſurd, and too unconſcionably groſs is that fond invention, that wafted hither the fifty daughters of a ſtrange Diocleſian king of Syria; brought in, doubtleſs, by ſome illiterate pretender to ſomething miſtaken in the common poetical ſtory of Danaus king of Argos, while his vanity, not pleaſed with the obſcure beginning which trueſt antiquity affords the nation, laboured to contrive us a pedigree, as he thought, more noble. Theſe daughters by appointment of Danaus on the marriage-night having murdered all their huſbands, except Linceus, whom his wife's loyalty ſaved, were by him, at the ſuit of his wife their ſiſter, not put to death, but turned out to ſea in a ſhip unmanned; of which whole ſex they had incurred the hate: and as the tale goes, were driven on this iſland. Where the inhabitants, none but devils, as ſome write, or as others, a lawleſs crew left here by Albion, without head or governor, both entertained them, and had iſſue by them a ſecond breed of giants, who tyrannized the Iſle, till Brutus came.

The eldeſt of theſe dames in their legend they call Albina; and from thence, for which cauſe the whole ſcene was framed, will have the name Albion derived. Incredible it may ſeem ſo ſluggiſh a conceit ſhould prove ſo ancient, as to be authoriſed by the elder Ninnius, reputed to have lived above a thouſand years ago. This I find not in him; but that Hiſtion, ſprung of Japhet, had four ſons; Francus, Romanus, Alemannus, and Britto, of whom the Britains *; as true, I believe, as that thoſe other nations, whoſe names are reſembled, came of the other three; if theſe dreams give not juſt occaſion

* Hollinſhed.

to

to call in doubt the book itſelf, which bears that title.

Hitherto the things themſelves have given us a warrantable diſpatch to run them ſoon over. But now of Brutus and his line, with the whole progeny of kings, to the entrance of Julius Cæſar, we cannot ſo eaſily be diſcharged; deſcents of anceſtry, long continued, laws and exploits not plainly ſeeming to be borrowed, or deviſed, which on the common belief have wrought no ſmall impreſſion; defended by many, denied utterly by few. For what though Brutus, and the whole Trojan pretence were yielded up (ſeeing they who firſt deviſed to bring us from ſome noble anceſtor, were content at firſt with Brutus the conſul; till better invention, although not willing to forego the name, taught them to remove it higher into a more fabulous age, and by the ſame remove lighting on the Trojan tales in affectation to make the Britain of one original with the Roman, pitched there;) yet thoſe old and inborn names of ſucceſſive kings, never any to have been real perſons, or done in their lives at leaſt ſome part of what ſo long hath been remembered, cannot be thought without too ſtrict an incredulity.

For theſe, and thoſe cauſes above-mentioned, that which hath received approbation from ſo many, I have choſen not to omit. Certain or uncertain, be that upon the credit of thoſe whom I muſt follow; ſo far as keeps aloof from impoſſible and abſurd, atteſted by ancient writers from books more ancient, I refuſe not, as the due and proper ſubject of ſtory. The principal author is well known to be Geoffrey of Monmouth; what he was, and whence his authority, who in his age, or before him, have delivered the ſame matter, and ſuch like general diſcourſes will better ſtand in a treatiſe by themſelves. All * of them agree in this, that Brutus was the ſon of Silvius; he of Aſcanius; whoſe father was Eneas a Trojan prince, who at the burning of that city, with his ſon Aſcanius, and a collected number that eſcaped, after long wandering on the ſea, arrived in Italy. Where at length by the aſſiſtance of Latinus king of Latium, who

* Henry of Huntingdon, Matthew of Weſtminſter.

had given him his daughter Lavinia, he obtained to ſucceed in that kingdom, and left it to Aſcanius, whoſe ſon Silvius (though Roman hiſtories deny Silvius to be the ſon of Aſcanius) had married ſecretly a niece of Lavinia.

She being with child, the matter became known to Aſcanius. Who commanding his "magicians to inquire by art, what ſex the maid had conceived," had anſwer, "that it was one who ſhould be the death of both his parents; and baniſhed for the fact, ſhould after all in a far country, attain the higheſt honour." The prediction failed not, for in travail the mother died. And Brutus (the child was ſo called) at fifteen years of age, attending his father to the chace, with an arrow unfortunately killed him.

Baniſhed therefore by his kindred, he retires into Greece. Where meeting with the race of Helenus king Priam's ſon, held there in ſervile condition by Pandraſus then king, with them he abides. For Pyrrhus, in revenge of his father ſlain at Troy, had brought thither with him Helenus, and many others into ſervitude. There Brutus among his own ſtock ſo thrives in virtue and in arms, as renders him beloved to kings and great captains, above all the youth of that land. Whereby the Trojans not only began to hope, but ſecretly to move him, that he would lead them the way to liberty. They allege their numbers, and the promiſed help of Aſſaracus a noble Greekiſh youth, by the mother's ſide a Trojan; whom for that cauſe his brother went about to diſpoſſeſs of certain caſtles bequeathed him by his father. Brutus conſidering both the forces offered him, and the ſtrength of thoſe holds, not unwillingly conſents.

Firſt therefore having fortified thoſe caſtles, he with Aſſaracus and the whole multitude betake them to the woods and hills, as the ſafeſt place from whence to expoſtulate; and in the name of all ſends to Pandraſus this meſſage, "That the Trojans holding it unworthy their anceſtors to ſerve in a foreign kingdom, had retreated to the woods; chooſing rather a ſavage life than a ſlaviſh: if that diſpleaſed him, that then with his leave they might depart to ſome other ſoil."

As this may paſs with good allowance that the Trojans

jans might be many in theſe parts, (for Helenus was by Pyrrhus made king of the Chaonians, and the ſons of Pyrrhus by Andromache Hector's wife, could not but be powerful through all Epirus,) ſo much the more it may be doubted, how theſe Trojans could be thus in bondage, where they had friends and countrymen ſo patent. But to examine theſe things with diligence, were but to confute the fables of Britain, with the fables of Greece or Italy: for of this age, what we have to ſay, as well concerning moſt other countries, as this iſland, is equally under queſtion. Be how it will, Pandraſus not expecting ſo bold a meſſage from the ſons of captives, gathers an army; and marching towards the woods, Brutus who had notice of his approach nigh to the town called Sparatinum, (I know not what town, but certain of no Greek name) over night planting himſelf there with good part of his men, ſuddenly ſets upon him, and with ſlaughter of the Greeks purſues him to the paſſage of a river, which mine author names Akalon, meaning perhaps Achelous or Acheron; where at the ford he overlays them afreſh. This victory obtained, and a ſufficient ſtrength left in Sparatinum, Brutus with Antigonus, the king's brother, and his friend Anacletus, whom he had taken in the fight, returns to the reſidue of his friends in the thick woods; while Pandraſus with all ſpeed recollecting, beſieges the town. Brutus to relieve his men beſieged, who earneſtly called him, diſtruſting the ſufficiency of his force, bethinks himſelf of this policy. Calls to him Anacletus, and threatening inſtant death elſe, both to him and his friend Antigonus, enjoins him, that he ſhould go at the ſecond hour of night to the Greekiſh leagre, and tell the guards he had brought Antigonus by ſtealth out of priſon to a certain woody vale, unable through the weight of his fetters to move him further entreating them to come ſpeedily and fetch him in. Anacletus to ſave both himſelf and his friend Antigonus, ſwears this, and at a fit hour ſets on alone toward the camp; is met, examined, and at laſt unqueſtionably known. To whom, great profeſſion of fidelity firſt made, he frames his tale, as had been taught him; and they now fully aſſured, with a credulous raſhneſs leaving their

ſtations, fared accordingly by the ambuſh that there awaited them. Forthwith Brutus divided his men into three parts, leads on in ſilence to the camp; commanding firſt each part at a ſeveral place to enter, and forbear execution, till he with his ſquadron poſſeſſed of the king's tent, gave ſignal to them by trumpet. The ſound whereof no ſooner heard, but huge havock begins upon the ſleeping and unguarded enemy, whom the beſieged alſo now ſallying forth, on the other ſide aſſail. Brutus the while had ſpecial care to ſeize and ſecure the king's perſon; whoſe life ſtill within his cuſtody, he knew was the ſureſt pledge to obtain what he ſhould demand. Day appearing, he enters the town, there diſtributes the king's treaſury, and leaving the place better fortified, returns with the king his priſoner to the woods. Straight the ancient and grave men he ſummons to council, what they ſhould now demand of the king.

After long debate Mempricius, one of the graveſt, utterly diſſuading them from thought of longer ſtay in Greece, unleſs they meant to be deluded with a ſubtle peace, and the awaited revenge of thoſe whoſe friends they had ſlain, adviſes them to demand firſt the king's eldeſt daughter Innogen in marriage to their leader Brutus with a rich dowry, next ſhipping, money, and fit proviſion for them all to depart the land.

This reſolution pleaſing beſt, the king now brought in, and placed in a high ſeat, is briefly told, that on theſe conditions granted, he might be free; not granted he muſt prepare to die.

Preſſed with fear of death, the king readily yields; eſpecially to beſtow his daughter on whom he confeſſed ſo noble and ſo valiant: offers them alſo the third part of his kingdom, if they like to ſtay; if not, to be their hoſtage himſelf, till he had made good his word.

The marriage therefore ſolemnized, and ſhipping from all parts got together, the Trojans in a fleet, no leſs written than three hundred four and twenty ſail, betake them to the wide ſea: where, with a proſperous courſe, two days and a night bring them on a certain iſland long before diſpeopled and left waſte by ſearovers, the name whereof was then Leogecia, now unknown. They who were

were ſent out to diſcover, came at length to a ruined city, where was a temple and image of Diana that gave oracles: but not meeting firſt or laſt, ſave wild beaſts, they return with this notice to their ſhips; wiſhing their general would inquire of that oracle what voyage to purſue.

Conſultation had, Brutus taking with him Gerion his diviner, and twelve of the ancienteſt, with wanton ceremonies before the inward ſhine of the goddeſs, in verſe (as it ſeems the manner was) utters his requeſt, "Diva potens nemorum," &c.

Goddeſs of ſhades, and huntreſs, who at will
Walk'ſt on the rolling ſphere, and through the deep
On thy third reign the earth look now, and tell
What land, what ſeat of reſt thou bidd'ſt me ſeek,
What certain ſeat, where I may worſhip thee
For aye, with temples vow'd, and virgin choirs.

To whom ſleeping before the altar, Diana in a viſion that night thus anſwered, "Brute ſub occaſum ſolis," &c.

Brutus, far to the weſt, in th' ocean wide,
Beyond the realm of Gaul, a land there lies,
Seagirt it lies, where giants dwelt of old,
Now void it fits thy people; thither bend
Thy courſe, there ſhalt thou find a laſting ſeat,
There to thy ſons another Troy ſhall riſe;
And kings be born of thee, whoſe dreaded might
Shall awe the world, and conquer nations bold.

Theſe verſes originally Greek, were put in Latin, ſaith Virunnius, by Gildas a Britiſh poet, and him to have lived under Claudius. Which granted true, adds much to the antiquity of this fable; and indeed the Latin verſes are much better, than of the age for Geoffrey ap Arthur, unleſs perhaps Joſeph of Exeter, the only ſmooth poet of thoſe times, befriended him. In this, Diana overſhot her oracle thus ending, "Ipſis totius terræ ſubditus orbis erit," That to the race of Brute kings of this iſland, the whole earth ſhall be ſubject.

But Brutus guided now, as he thought by divine conduct, ſpeeds him towards the weſt; and after ſome encounters

counters on the Afric ſide, arrives at a place on the Tyrrhene ſea; where he happens to find the race of thoſe Trojans, who with Antenor came into Italy; and Corineus a man much famed, was their chief: though by ſurer authors it be reported, that thoſe Trojans with Antenor were ſeated on the other ſide of Italy, on the Adriatic, not the Tyrrhene ſhore. But theſe joining company, and paſt the Herculean Pillars, at the mouth of Ligeris in Aquitania caſt anchor: where after ſome diſcovery made of the place, Corineus, hunting nigh the ſhore with his men, is by meſſengers of the king Goffarius Pictus met, and queſtioned about his errand there. Who not anſwering to their mind, Imbertus, one of them, lets fly an arrow at Corineus, which he avoiding, ſlays him: and the Pictavian himſelf hereupon levying his whole force, is overthrown by Brutus, and Corineus; who with the battle-axe which he was wont to manage againſt the Tyrrhene giants, is ſaid to have done marvels. But Goffarius having drawn to his aid the whole country of Gaul, at that time governed by twelve kings, puts his fortune to a ſecond trial; wherein the Trojans, overborn by multitude, are driven back, and beſieged in their own camp, which by good foreſight was ſtrongly ſituate. Whence Brutus unexpectedly iſſuing out, and Corineus in the mean while, whoſe device it was, aſſaulting them behind from a wood, where he had conveyed his men the night before: the Trojans are again victors, but with the loſs of Turon a valiant nephew of Brutus: whoſe aſhes, left in that place, gave name to the city of Tours, built there by the Trojans. Brutus finding now his powers much leſſened, and this yet not the place foretold him, leaves Aquitain, and with an eaſy courſe arriving at Totneſs in Devonſhire, quickly perceives here to be the promiſed end of his labours.

The iſland, not yet Britain but Albion, was in a manner deſert and inhoſpitable; kept only by a remnant of giants, whoſe exceſſive force and tyranny had conſumed the reſt. Them Brutus deſtroys, and to his people divides the land, which with ſome reference to his own name he thenceforth calls Britain. To Corineus, Cornwal, as now we call it, fell by lot; the rather by him liked, for that

the hugeſt giants in rocks and caves were ſaid to lurk ſtill there; which kind of monſters to deal with was his old exerciſe.

And here with leave beſpoken to recite a grand fable, though dignified by our beſt poets: while Brutus, on a certain feſtival day ſolemnly kept on that ſhore, where he firſt landed, was with the people in great jollity and mirth, a crew of theſe ſavages breaking in upon them, began on a ſudden another ſort of game, than at ſuch a meeting was expected. But at length by many hands overcome, Goemagog the hugeſt, in height twelve cubits, is reſerved alive, that with him Corineus, who deſired nothing more might try his ſtrength; whom in a wreſtle the giant catching aloft, with a terrible hug broke three of his ribs: nevertheleſs Corineus enraged, heaving him up by main force, and on his ſhoulders bearing him to the next high rock, threw him headlong, all ſhattered, into the ſea, and left his name on the cliff, called ever ſince Langoemagog, which is to ſay, the giant's leap.

After this, Brutus in a choſen place builds Troja Nova, changed in time to Trinovantum, now London: and began to enact laws; Heli being then high prieſt in Judæa: and having governed the whole iſle twenty-four years, died, and was buried in his new Troy. His three ſons, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, divide the land by conſent. Locrine had the middle part Lœgria; Camber poſſeſſed Cambria, or Wales; Albanact, Albania, now Scotland. But he in the end by Humber king of the Hunds, who with a fleet invaded that land, was ſlain in fight, and his people drove back into Lœgria. Locrine and his brother go out againſt Humber; who now marching onward, was by them defeated, and in a river drowned, which to this day retains his name. Among the ſpoils of his camp and navy, were found certain young maids, and Eſtrildis above the reſt, paſſing fair, the daughter of a king in Germany; from whence Humber, as he went waſting the ſea coaſt, had led her captive: whom Locrine, though before contracted to the daughter of Corineus, reſolves to marry. But being forced and threatened by Corineus, whoſe authority and power he feared, Guendolen the daughter he yeilds to marry, but

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in ſecret loves the other: and oft-times retiring, as to ſome private ſacrifice, through vaults and paſſages made under ground, and ſeven years thus enjoying her, had by her a daughter equally fair, whoſe name was Sabra. But when once his fear was off by the death of Corineus, not content with ſecret enjoyment, divorcing Guendolen, he makes Eſtrildes now his queen. Guendolen, all in rage, departs into Cornwal, where Madan, the ſon ſhe had by Locrine, was hitherto brought up by Corineus his grandfather. And gathering an army of her father's friends and ſubjects, gives battle to her huſband by the river Sture; wherein Locrine, ſhot with an arrow, ends his life. But not ſo ends the fury of Guendolen; for Eſtrildis, and her daughter Sabra, ſhe throws into a river: and, to leave a monument of revenge, proclaims that the ſtream be thenceforth called after the damſel's name; which, by length of time, is changed now to Sabrina, or Severn.

Fifteen years ſhe governs in behalf of her ſon; then reſigning to him at age, retires to her father's dominion. This, ſaith my author, was in the days of Samuel. Madan hath the praiſe to have well and peacefully ruled the ſpace of forty years, leaving behind him two ſons, Mempricious, and Malim. Mempricius had firſt to do with the ambition of his brother, aſpiring to ſhare with him in the kingdom; whom therefore, at a meeting to compoſe matters, with a treachery, which his cauſe needed not, he ſlew.

Nor was he better in the ſole poſſeſſion, whereof ſo ill he could endure a partner, killing his nobles, and thoſe eſpecially next to ſucceed him; till laſtly, given over to unnatural luſt, in the twentieth of his reign, hunting in a foreſt, he was devoured by wolves.

His ſon Ebranc, a man of mighty ſtrength and ſtature, reigned forty years. He firſt, after Brutus, waſted Gaul; and returning rich and proſperous, builded Caerebranc, now York; in Albania, Alclud, Mount Agned, or the Caſtle of Maidens, now Edinburgh. He had twenty ſons and thirty daughters by twenty wives. His daughters he ſent to Silvius Alba into Italy, who beſtowed them on his peers of the Trojan line. His ſons, under the

the leading of Aſſaracus their brother, won them lands and ſignories in Germany; thence called from theſe brethren, Germania; a derivation too haſtily ſuppoſed, perhaps before the word Germanus, or the Latin tongue was in uſe. Some who have deſcribed Henault, as Jacobus Bergomas, and Laſſabeus, are cited to affirm, that Ebranc, in his war there, was by Brunchildis, lord of Henault, put to the worſe.

Brutus, therefore, ſurnamed Greenſhield, ſucceeding, to repair his father's loſſes, as the ſame Leſſabeus reports, fought a ſecond battle in Henault, with Brunchild, at the mouth of Scaldis, and encamped on the river Hania. Of which our Spencer alſo thus ſings:

Let Scaldis tell, and let tell Hania,
And let the marſh of Eſthambruges tell
What colour were their waters that ſame day,
And all the moor 'twixt Elverſham and Dell,
With blood of Henalois, which therein fell;
How oft that day did ſad Brunchildis ſee
The Greenſhield dyed in dolorous vermeil, &c.

But Henault, and Brunchild, and Greenſhield, ſeem newer names than for a ſtory pretended thus ancient.

Him ſucceeded Leil, a maintainer of peace and equity; but ſlackened in his latter end, whence aroſe ſome civil diſcord. He built, in the North, Cairleil*; and in the days of Solomon.

Rudhuddibras, or Hudibras, appeaſing the commotions which his father could not, founded Caerkeynt or Canterbury, Caerguent or Wincheſter, and Mount Paladur, now Septonia or Shafteſbury: but this by others is contradicted.

Bladud his ſon built Caerbadus or Bath, and thoſe medicinal waters he dedicated to Minerva; in whoſe temple there he kept fire continually burning. He was a man of great invention, and taught necromancy; till having made him wings to fly, he fell down upon the temple of Apollo in Trinovant, and ſo died after twenty years reign.

Hitherto, from father to ſon, the direct line hath run

* Called now Carliſle.

on;

on: but Leir, who next reigned, had only three daughters, and no male iſſue: governed laudibly, and built Caerleir, now Leiceſter, on the bank of Sora. But at laſt, falling through age, he determines to beſtow his daughters, and ſo among them to divide his kingdom. Yet firſt, to try which of them loved him beſt, (a trial that might have made him, had he known as wiſely how to try, as he ſeemed to know how much the trying behooved him) he reſolves a ſimple reſolution, to aſk them ſolemnly in order; and which of them ſhould profeſs largeſt, her to believe. Gonorill the eldeſt, apprehending too well her father's weakneſs, makes anſwer, invoking Heaven, "That ſhe loved him above her ſoul." "Therefore," quoth the old man, overjoyed, "ſince thou ſo honoureſt my declining age, to thee and the huſband whom thou ſhalt chooſe, I give the third part of my realm." So fair a ſpeeding, for a few words ſoon uttered, was to Regan, the ſecond, ample inſtruction what to ſay. She, on the ſame demand, ſpares no proteſting; and the Gods muſt witneſs, that otherwiſe to expreſs her thoughts ſhe knew not, but that "She loved him above all creatures;" and ſo receives an equal reward with her ſiſter. But Cordeilla, the youngeſt though hitherto beſt beloved, and now before her eyes the rich and preſent hire of a little eaſy ſoothing, the danger alſo, and the loſs likely to betide plain dealing, yet moves not from the ſolid purpoſe of a ſincere and virtuous anſwer. "Father," ſaith ſhe, "my love towards you is as my duty bids: what ſhould a father ſeek, what can a child promiſe more? They, who pretend beyond this, flatter." When the old man, ſorry to hear this, and wiſhing her to recall thoſe words, perſiſted aſking; with a loyal ſadneſs at her father's infirmity, but ſomething, on the ſudden, harſh, and glancing rather at her ſiſters than ſpeaking her own mind, "Two ways only," ſaith ſhe, "I have to anſwer what you require me: the former, your command is, I ſhould recant; accept then this other which is left me; look how much you have, ſo much is your value, and ſo much I love you." "Then hear thou," quoth Leir, now all in paſſion, "what thy ingratitude hath gained thee; becauſe thou

thou haſt not reverenced thy aged father equal to thy ſiſters, part in my kingdom, or what elſe is mine, reckon to have none." And, without delay, gives in marriage his other daughters, Gonorill to Maglaunus duke of Albania, Regan to Henninus duke of Cornwal; with them in preſent half his kingdom; the reſt to follow at his death. In the mean while, fame was not ſparing to divulge the wiſdom and other graces of Cordeilla, inſomuch that Aganippus, a great king in Gaul (however he came by his Greek name, not found in any regiſter of French kings) ſeeks her to wife; and nothing altered at the loſs of her dowry, receives her gladly in ſuch manner as ſhe was ſent him. After this king Leir, more and more drooping with years, became an eaſy prey to his daughters, and their huſbands; who now, by daily encroachment, had ſeized the whole kingdom into their hands: and the old king is put to ſojourn with his eldeſt daughter attended only by threeſcore knights. But they in a ſhort while grudged at, as too numerous and diſorderly for continual gueſts, are reduced to thirty. Not brooking that affront, the old king betakes him to his ſecond daughter: but there alſo, diſcord ſoon ariſing between the ſervants of differing maſters in one family, five only are ſuffered to attend him. Then back again he returns to the other; hoping that ſhe his eldeſt could not but have more pity on his gray hairs: but ſhe now refuſes to admit him, unleſs he be content with one only of his followers. At laſt the remembrance of his youngeſt, Cordeilla, comes to his thoughts; and now acknowledging how true her words had been, though with little hope from whom he had ſo injured, be it but to pay her the laſt recompenſe ſhe can have from him, his confeſſion of her wiſe forewarning, that ſo perhaps his miſery, the proof and experiment of her wiſdom, might ſomething ſoften her, he takes his journey into France. Now might be ſeen a difference between the ſilent, or downright ſpoken affection of ſome children to their parents, and the talkative obſequiouſneſs of others; while the hope of inheritance overacts them, and on the tongue's end enlarges their duty. Cordeilla, out of mere love, without the ſuſpicion of expected

pected reward, at the meſſage only of her father in diſtreſs, pours forth true filial tears. And not enduring either that her own, or any other eye ſhould ſee him in ſuch forlorn condition as his meſſenger declared, diſcreetly appoints one of her truſted ſervants firſt to convey him privately towards ſome good ſeatown, there to array him, bathe him, cheriſh him, furniſh him with ſuch attendance and ſtate as beſeemed his dignity; that then, as from his firſt landing, he might ſend word of his arrival to her huſband Aganippus. Which done, with all mature and requiſite contrivance, Cordeilla, with the king her huſband, and all the barony of his realm, who then firſt had news of his paſſing the ſea, go out to meet him; and after all honourable and joyful entertainment, Aganippus, as to his wife's father, and his royal gueſt, ſurrenders him, during his abode there, the power and diſpoſal of his whole dominion: permitting his wife Cordeilla to go with an army, and ſet her father upon his throne. Wherein her piety ſo proſpered, as that ſhe vanquiſhed her impious ſiſters, with thoſe dukes; and Leir again, as ſaith the ſtory, three years obtained the crown. To whom, dying, Cordeilla, with all regal ſolemnities, gave burial in the town of Leiceſter: and then, as right heir ſucceeding, and her huſband dead, ruled the land five years in peace. Until Marganus and Cunedagius, her two ſiſters ſons, not bearing that a kingdom ſhould be governed by a woman, in the unſeaſonableſt time to raiſe that quarrel againſt a woman ſo worthy, make war againſt her, depoſe her, and impriſon her; of which impatient, and now long unexerciſed to ſuffer, ſhe there, as is related, killed herſelf. The victors between them part the land; but Marganus, the eldeſt ſiſter's ſon, who held, by agreement, from the north ſide of Humber to Cathneſs, incited by thoſe about him, to invade all as his own right, wars on Cunedagius, who ſoon met him, overcame, and overtook him in a town of Wales, where he left his life, and ever ſince his name to the place.

Cunedagius was now ſole king, and governed with much praiſe many years, about the time when Rome was built.

Him

Him ſucceeded Rivallo his ſon, wiſe alſo and fortunate; ſave what they tell us of three days raining blood, and ſwarms of ſtinging flies, whereof men died. In order then Gurguſtius, Jago or Lago, his nephew; Siſilius, Kinmarcus. Then Gorbogudo, whom others name Gorbodego, and Gorbodion, who had two ſons, Ferrex and Porrex. They, in the old age of their father, falling to contend who ſhould ſucceed, Porrex, attempting by treachery his brother's life, drives him into France; and in his return, though aided with the force of that country, defeats and ſlays him. But by his mother Videna, who leſs loved him, is himſelf, with the aſſiſtance of her women, ſoon after ſlain in his bed: with whom ended, as is thought, the line of Brutus. Whereupon the whole land, with civil broils, was rent into five kingdoms, long time waging war each on other; and ſome ſay fifty years. At length Dunwallo Molmutius, the ſon of Cloten king of Cornwal, one of the foreſaid five, excelling in valour and goodlineſs of perſon, after his father's deceaſe, found means to reduce again the whole iſland into a monarchy; ſubduing the reſt at opportunities. Firſt, Ymner king of Loegria, whom he ſlew; then Rudaucus of Cambria, Staterius of Albania, confederate together. In which fight Dunwallo is reported, while the victory hung doubtful, to have uſed this art. He takes with him 600 ſtout men, bids them put on the armour of their ſlain enemies; and ſo unexpectedly approaching the ſquadron, where thoſe two kings had placed themſelves in fight, from that part which they thought ſecureſt, aſſaults and diſpatches them. Then diſplaying his own enſigns, which before he had concealed, and ſending notice to the other part of his army what was done, adds to them new courage, and gains a final victory. This Dunwallo was the firſt in Britian that wore a crown of gold; and therefore by ſome reputed the firſt king. He eſtabliſhed the Molmutine laws, famous among the Engliſh to this day; written long after in Latin by Gildas, and in Saxon by king Alfred: ſo ſaith Geoffrey, but Gildas denies to have known aught of the Britains before Cæſar; much leſs knew Alfred. Theſe laws, whoever made them, beſtowed on temples

the privilege of ſanctuary; to cities alſo, and the ways thither leading, yea to plows granted a kind of like refuge; and made ſuch riddance of thieves and robbers, that all paſſages were ſafe. Forty years he governed alone, and was buried nigh to the Temple of Concord; which he, to the memory of peace reſtored, had built in Trinovant.

His two ſons, Belinus and Brennus, contending about the crown, by deciſion of friends, came at length to an accord: Brennus to have the north of Humber, Belinus the ſovereignty of all. But the younger not long ſo contented, that he, as they whiſpered to him, whoſe valour had ſo oft repelled the invaſions of Ceulphus the Morine duke, ſhould now be ſubject to his brother, upon new deſign ſails into Norway; enters league and affinity with Elſing that king: which Belinus perceiving, in his abſence diſpoſſeſſes him of all the north. Brennus, with a fleet of Norwegians, makes towards Britain; but encountered by Guithlac, the Daniſh king, who, laying claim to his bride, purſued him on the ſea, his haſte was retarded, and he bereft of his ſpouſe; who, from the fight, by a ſudden tempeſt, was with the Daniſh king driven on Northumberland, and brought to Belinus. Brennus, nevertheleſs, finding means to recollect his navy, lands in Albania, and gives battle to his brother in the wood Calaterium; but loſing the day, eſcapes with one ſingle ſhip into Gaul. Mean while the Dane, upon his own offer to become tributary, ſent home with his new prize, Belinus returns his thoughts to the adminiſtering of juſtice, and the perfecting of his father's law. And to explain what highways might enjoy the foreſaid privileges, he cauſed to be drawn out and paved four main roads to the utmoſt length and breadth of the iſland, and two others athwart; which are ſince attributed to the Romans. Brennus, on the other ſide, ſoliciting to his aid the kings of Gaul, happens at laſt on Seginus duke of the Allobroges; where his worth, and comelineſs of perſon, won him the duke's daughter and heir. In whoſe right he ſhortly ſucceeding, and, by obtained leave, paſſing with a great hoſt through the length of Gaul, gets footing once again in Britain. Now was

Belinus unprepared: and now the battle ready to join, Conuvenna, the mother of them both, all in a fright, throws herſelf between; and calling earneſtly to Brennus her ſon, whoſe abſence had ſo long deprived her of his ſight, after embracements and tears, aſſails him with ſuch a motherly power, and the mention of things ſo dear and reverend, as irreſiſtibly wrung from him all his enmity againſt Belinus.

Then are hands joined, reconciliation made firm, and counſel held to turn their united preparations on foreign parts. Thence that by theſe two all Gallia was overrun, the ſtory tells; and what they did in Italy, and at Rome, (if theſe be they, and not Gauls, who took that city) the Roman authors can beſt relate. So far from home I undertake not for the Monmouth Chronicle; which here, againſt the ſtream of hiſtory, carries up and down theſe brethren, now into Germany, then again to Rome, purſuing Gabius and Porſena, two unheard of conſuls. Thus much is more generally believed, that both this Brennus, and another famous captain, Britomarus, whom the epitomiſt Florus and others mention, were not Gauls, but Britains; the name of the firſt in that tongue ſignifying a king, and of the other a great Britain. However, Belinus, after a while, returning home, the reſt of his days ruled in peace, wealth, and honour, above all his predeceſſors; building ſome cities, of which one was Caeroſe upon Oſca, ſince Caerlegion; beautifying others, as Trinovant, with a gate, a haven, and a tower, on the Thames, retaining yet his name; on the top whereof his aſhes are ſaid to have been laid up in a golden urn.

After him Gurguntius Barbirus was king, mild and juſt; but yet, inheriting his father's courage, he ſubdued the Dacian, or Dane, who refuſed to pay the tribute covenanted to Belinus for his enlargement. In his return, finding about the Orkneys thirty ſhips of Spain, or Biſcay, fraught with men and women for a plantation, whoſe captain alſo Bartholinus, wrongfully baniſhed, as he pleaded, beſought him that ſome part of his territory might be aſſigned them to dwell in, he ſent with them certain of his own men to Ireland, which then lay

unpeopled, and gave them that iſland, to hold of him as in homage. He was buried in Caerlegion, a city which he had walled about.

Guitheline his ſon is alſo remembered as a juſt and good prince; and his wife Martia to have excelled ſo much in wiſdom, as to venture upon a new inſtitution of laws. Which king Alfred tranſlating, called Marchen Leage; but more truly thereby is meant the Mercian law, not tranſlated by Alfred, but digeſted or incorporated with the Weſt-Saxon. In the minority of her ſon ſhe had the rule; and then, as may be ſuppoſed, brought forth theſe laws, not herſelf, for laws are maſculine births, but by the advice of her ſageſt counſellors; and therein ſhe might do virtuouſly, ſince it befel her to ſupply the nonage of her ſon; elſe nothing more awry from the law of God and nature, than that a woman ſhould give laws to men.

Her ſon Siſilius coming to years, received the rule: then, in order, Kimarus; then Danius, or Elanius, his brother. Then Morindus, his ſon by Tangueſtela, a concubine, who is recorded a man of exceſſive ſtrength, valiant, liberal, and fair of aſpect, but immanely cruel; not ſparing, in his anger, enemy or friend, if any weapon were in his hand. A certain king of the Morines, or Picards, invaded Northumberland; whoſe army this king, though not wanting ſufficient numbers, chiefly by his own proweſs overcame; but diſhonoured his victory by the cruel uſage of his priſoners, whom his own hands, or others in his preſence, put all to ſeveral deaths: well fitted to ſuch a beſtial cruelty was his end; for hearing of a huge monſter, that from the Iriſh ſea infeſted the coaſt, and, in the pride of his ſtrength, fooliſhly attempting to ſet manly valour againſt a brute vaſtneſs, when his weapons were all in vain, by that horrible mouth he was catched up and devoured.

Gorbonian, the eldeſt of his five ſons, than whom a juſter man lived not in his age, was a great builder of temples, and gave to all what was their due: to his Gods, devout worſhip; to men of deſert, honour and preferment; to the commons, encouragement in their labours and trades, defence and protection from injuries and oppreſſions;

preſſions; ſo that the land flouriſhed above her neighbours; violence and wrong ſeldom was heard of. His death was a general loſs: he was buried in Trinovant.

Archigallo, the ſecond brother, followed not his example; but depreſſed the ancient nobility; and, by peeling the wealthier ſort, ſtuffed his treaſury, and took the right way to be depoſed.

Elidure, the next brother, ſurnamed the Pious, was ſet up in his place: a mind ſo noble, and ſo moderate, as almoſt is incredible to have been ever found. For, having held the ſceptre five years, hunting one day in the foreſt of Calater, he chanced to meet his depoſed brother, wandering in a mean condition; who had been long in vain beyond the ſeas, importuning foreign aids to his reſtorement; and was now, in a poor habit, with only ten followers, privately returned to find ſubſiſtence among his ſecret friends. At the unexpected ſight of him, Elidure himſelf alſo then but thinly accompanied, runs to him with open arms; and, after many dear and ſincere welcomings, conveys him to the city Alclud; there hides him in his own bedchamber. Afterwards feigning himſelf ſick, ſummons all his peers, as about greateſt affairs; where admitting them one by one, as if his weakneſs endured not the diſturbance of more at once, cauſes them, willing or unwilling, once more to ſwear allegiance to Archigallo. Whom, after reconciliation made on all ſides, he leads to York; and, from his own head, places the crown on the head of his brother. Who thenceforth, vice itſelf diſſolving in him, and forgetting her firmeſt hold, with the admiration of a deed ſo heroic, became a true converted man; ruled worthily ten years, died, and was buried in Caerleir. Thus was a brother ſaved by a brother, to whom love of a crown, the thing that ſo often dazzles and vitiates mortal men, for which thouſands of neareſt blood have deſtroyed each other, was in reſpect of brotherly dearneſs, a contemptible thing.

Elidure now in his own behalf re-aſſumes the government, and did as was worthy ſuch a man to do. When Providence, that ſo great a virtue might want no ſort of trial to make it more illuſtrious, ſtirs up Vigenius and

Peredure, his youngeſt brethren, againſt him who had deſerved ſo nobly of that relation, as leaſt of all by a brother to be injured. Yet him they defeat, him they impriſon in the tower of Trinovant, and divide his kingdom; the North to Peredure, the South to Vigenius. After whoſe death Peredure obtaining all, ſo much the better uſed his power, by how much the worſe he got it: ſo that Elidure now is hardly miſſed. But yet, in all right owing to his elder the due place whereof he had deprived him, fate would that he ſhould die firſt: and Elidure, after many years impriſonment, is now the third time ſeated on the throne; which at laſt he enjoyed long in peace, finiſhing the interrupted courſe of his mild and juſt reign, as full of virtuous deeds as days to his end.

After theſe five ſons of Morindus, ſucceeded alſo their ſons in order. * Regin of Gorbonian, Marganus of Archigallo, both good kings. But Enniaunus, his brother, taking other courſes, was after ſix years depoſed. Then Idwallo, taught by a near example, governed ſoberly. Then Runno, then Geruntius, he of Peredure, this laſt the ſon of Elidure. From whoſe loins (for that likely is the durable and ſurviving race that ſprings of juſt progenitors) iſſued a long deſcent of kings, whoſe names only for many ſucceſſions, without other memory, ſtand thus regiſtered: Catellus, Coillus, Porrex, Cherin, and his three ſons, Fulgenius, Eldadus, and Andragius, his ſon Urianus; Eliud, Eledaucus, Clotenus, Gurguntius, Merianus, Bleduno, Capis, Oenus, Siſillius; twenty kings in a continued row, that either did nothing, or lived in ages that wrote nothing; at leaſt, a foul pretermiſſion in the author of this, whether ſtory or fable; himſelf weary, as ſeems, of his own tedious tale.

But to make amends for this ſilence, Blegabredus next ſucceeding, is recorded to have excelled all before him in the art of muſick; opportunely, had he but left us one ſong of his twenty predeceſſors doings.

Yet after him nine more ſucceeded in name; his brother Archimailus, Eldol, Redion, Rederchius, Samulius,

* Matth. Weſtm.

Peniſſel,

Peniſſel, Pir, Capoirus; but Cliguellius, with the addition of modeſt, wiſe, and juſt.

His ſon Heli reigned forty years, and had three ſons, Lud, Caſſibelan, and Nennius. This Heli ſeems to be the ſame whom Ninnius, in his Fragment, calls Minocan; for him he writes to be the father of Caſſibelan. Lud was he who enlarged and walled about Trinovant; there kept his court, made it the prime city, and called it from his own name Caerlud, or Lud's town, now London. Which, as is alleged out of Gildas, became matter of great diſſenſion betwixt him and his brother Nennius; who took it heinouſly that the name of Troy, their ancient country, ſhould be aboliſhed for any new one. Lud was hardy, and bold in war; in peace, a jolly feaſter. He conquered many iſlands of the ſea, ſaith Huntingdon *, and was buried by the gate, which from thence we call Ludgate †. His two ſons, Androgeus and Tenuantius, were left to the tuition of Caſſibelan; whoſe bounty and high demeanour ſo wrought with the common people, as got him eaſily the kingdom transferred upon himſelf. He nevertheleſs, continuing to favour and ſupport his nephews, conſers freely upon Androgeus London with Kent; upon Tenuantius, Cornwal; reſerving a ſuperiority both over them, and all the other princes to himſelf, till the Romans for awhile circumſcribed his power. Thus far, though leaning only on the credit of Geoffrey Monmouth, and his aſſertors, I yet, for the ſpecified cauſes, have thought it not beneath my purpoſe to relate what I found. Whereto I neither oblige the belief of other perſon, nor overhaſtily ſubſcribe mine own. Nor have I ſtood with others computing or collating years and chronologies, leſt I ſhould be vainly curious about the time and circumſtance of things, whereof the ſubſtance is ſo much in doubt. By this time, like one who had ſet out on his way by night, and travelled through a region of ſmooth or idle dreams, our hiſtory

* Huntingd. l. i. † Verſtegan denies this; and ſays it was called ſo by the Saxons, from Lud, in our ancient language, people, and gate, *quaſi porta populi*; of all the gates of the city, that having the greateſt paſſage of people; eſpecially before Newgate was built, which was about the reign of Henry II.

now arrives on the confines, where daylight and truth meet us with a clear dawn, repreſenting to our view, though at a far diſtance, true colours and ſhapes. For albeit Cæſar, whoſe authority we are now firſt to follow, wanted not who taxed him of miſrepreſenting in his Commentaries, yea in his civil war againſt Pompey, much more, may we think, in the Britiſh affairs, of whoſe little ſkill in writing he did not eaſily hope to be contradicted; yet now, in ſuch variety of good authors, we hardly can miſs, from one hand or other to be ſufficiently informed, as of things paſt ſo long ago. But this will better be referred to a ſecond diſcourſe.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

THE

HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

THE SECOND BOOK.

I AM now to write of what befel the Britains from fifty and three years before the birth of our Saviour, when firſt the Romans came in, till the decay and ceaſing of that empire; a ſtory of much truth, and for the firſt hundred years and ſomewhat more, collected without much labour. So many and ſo prudent were the writers, which thoſe two, the civileſt and the wiſeſt of European nations, both Italy and Greece, afforded to the actions of that puiſſant city. For worthy deeds are not often deſtitute of worthy relaters: as by a certain fate, great acts and great eloquence have moſt commonly gone hand in hand, equalling and honouring each other in the ſame ages. It is true, that in obſcureſt times, by ſhallow and unſkilful writers, the indiſtinct noiſe of many battles and devaſtations of many kingdoms, overrun and loſt, hath come to our ears. For what wonder, if in all ages ambition and the love of rapine hath ſtirred up greedy and violent men to bold attempts in waſting and ruining wars, which to poſterity have left the work of wild beaſts and deſtroyers, rather than the deeds and monuments of men and conquerors? But he whoſe juſt and true valour uſes the neceſſity of war and dominion not to deſtroy, but to prevent deſtruction, to bring in liberty againſt tyrants, law and civility among barbarous nations, knowing that when he conquers all things elſe, he cannot conquer Time or Detraction, wiſely conſcious of this his want as well as of his worth not to be forgotten or concealed, honours and hath recourſe to the aid of eloquence, his friendlieſt and beſt ſupply; by whoſe immortal record his noble deeds, which elſe were tranſitory, become fixed and durable againſt the force of years and generations, he fails not to continue through all poſterity,

terity, over Envy, Death, and Time alſo victorious. Therefore when the eſteem of ſcience and liberal ſtudy waxes low in the commonwealth, we may preſume that alſo there all civil virtue, and worthy action is grown as low to a decline: and then eloquence as it were conſorted in the ſame deſtiny, with the decreaſe and fall of virtue, corrupts alſo and fades; at leaſt reſigns her office of relating to illiterate and frivolous hiſtorians, ſuch as the perſons themſelves both deſerve, and are beſt pleaſed with; whilſt they want either the underſtanding to chooſe better, or the innocence to dare invite the examining, and ſearching ſtyle of an intelligent and faithful writer to the ſurvey of their unſound exploits, better befriended by obſcurity than fame. As for theſe, the only authors we have of Britiſh matters, while the power of Rome reached hither, (for Gildas affirms that of the Roman times no Britiſh writer was in his days extant, or if any were, either burnt by enemies or tranſported with ſuch as fled the Pictiſh and Saxon invaſions) theſe therefore only Roman authors there be, who in the Latin tongue have laid together as much, and perhaps more than was requiſite to a hiſtory of Britain. So that were it not for leaving an unſightly gap ſo near to the beginning, I ſhould have judged this labour, wherein ſo little ſeems to be required above tranſcription, almoſt ſuperfluous. Notwithſtanding ſince I muſt through it, if aught by diligence may be added or omitted, or by other diſpoſing may be more explained or more expreſſed, I ſhall aſſay.

Julius Cæſar (of whom, and of the Roman free ſtate more than what appert'ns, is not here to be diſcourſed) having ſubdued moſt part of Gallia, which by a potent faction he had obtained of the ſenate as his province for many years, ſtirred up with a deſire of adding ſtill more glory to his name, and the whole Roman empire to his ambition; ſome * ſay, with a far meaner and ignobler, the deſire of Britiſh pearls, whoſe bigneſs he delighted to balance in his hand; determines, and that upon no unjuſt pretended occaſion, to try his force in the conqueſt alſo of Britain. For he underſtood that the Britains in moſt

* Suet. vit. Cæſ.

of

of his Gallian wars had ſent ſupplies againſt him; had received fugitives of the Bellovaci his enemies; and were called over to aid the cities of Armorica, which had the year before conſpired all in a new rebellion. Therefore Cæſar *, though now the ſummer well nigh ending, and the ſeaſon unagreeable to tranſport a war, yet judged it would be great advantage, only to get entrance into the iſle, knowledge of men, the places, the ports, the acceſſes; which then, it ſeems, were even to the Gauls our neighbours almoſt unknown. For except merchants and traders, it is not oft †, ſaith he, that any uſe to travel thither; and to thoſe that do, beſides the ſeacoaſt, and the ports next to Gallia, nothing elſe is known. But here I muſt require, as Pollio did, the diligence, at leaſt the memory of Cæſar: for if it were true, as they of Rhemes told him, that Divitiacus, not long before a puiſſant king of the Soiſſons, had Britain alſo under his command, beſides the Belgian colonies which he affirms to have named, and peopled many provinces there; if alſo the Britains had ſo frequently given them aid in all their wars; if laſtly, the Druid learning honoured ſo much among them, were firſt taught them out of Britain, and they who ſooneſt would attain that diſcipline, ſent hither to learn §; it appears not how Britain at that time ſhould be ſo utterly unknown in Gallia, or only known to merchants, yea to them ſo little, that being called together from all parts, none could be found to inform Cæſar of what bigneſs the iſle, what nations, how great, what uſe of war they had, what laws, or ſo much as what commodious heavens for bigger veſſels. Of all which things as it were then firſt to make diſcovery, he ſends Caius Voluſenus, in a long galley, with command to return as ſoon as this could be effected. He in the mean time with his whole power draws nigh to the Morine coaſt, whence the ſhorteſt paſſage was into Britain. Hither his navy, which he uſed againſt the Armoricans, and what elſe of ſhipping can be provided, he draws together. This known in Britain, the embaſſadors are ſent from many of the ſtates there, who promiſe hoſtages and obedience to the Roman empire.

* Year before Chriſt 53. † Cæſ. Com. l. 1. § Cæſ. Com. l. 4.

Them,

Them, after audience given, Cæſar as largely promiſing and exhorting to continue in that mind, ſends home, and with them Comius of Arras, whom he had made king of that country, and now ſecretly employed to gain a Roman party among the Britains, in as many cities as he found inclinable, and to tell them that he himſelf was ſpeeding thither. Voluſenus, with what diſcovery of the iſland he could make from aboard his ſhip, not daring to venture on the ſhore, within five days returns to Cæſar. Who ſoon after, with two legions, ordinarily amounting, of Romans and their allies, to about 25000 foot, and 4500 horſe, the foot in 80 ſhips of burden, the horſe in 18, beſides what galleys were appointed for his chief commanders, ſets off, about the third watch of night, with a good gale to ſea; leaving behind him Sulpitius Rufus to make good the port with a ſufficient ſtrength. But the horſe, whoſe appointed ſhipping lay windbound eight mile upward in another haven, had much trouble to embark. Cæſar, now within ſight of Britain, beholds on every hill multitudes of armed men ready to forbid his landing; and * Cicero writes to his friend Atticus, that the acceſſes of the iſland were wonderouſly fortified with ſtrong works or moles. Here from the fourth to the ninth hour of day he awaits at anchor the coming up of his whole fleet. Mean while, with his legates and tribunes, conſulting and giving order to fit all things for what might happen in ſuch a various and floating water-fight as was to be expected. This place, which was a narrow bay, cloſe environed with hills, appearing no way commodious, he removes to a plain and open ſhore eight miles diſtant; commonly ſuppoſed about Deal in Kent †. Which when the Britains perceived, their horſe and chariots, as then they uſed in fight ſcowering before, their main power ſpeeding after, ſome thick upon the ſhore, others not tarrying to be aſſailed, ride in among the waves to encounter, and aſſault the Romans even under their ſhips, with ſuch a bold and free hardihood, that Cæſar himſelf between confeſſing and excuſing that his ſoldiers were to come down from their ſhips, to ſtand in water heavy armed, and to fight

* Cic. Att. l. 4, Ep. 17. † Camden.

at

at once, denies not but that the terror of ſuch new and reſolute oppoſition made them forget their wonted valour. To ſuccour which he commands his galleys, a ſight unuſual to the Britains, and more apt for motion, drawn from the bigger veſſels, to row againſt the open ſide of the enemy, and thence with ſlings, engines and darts, to beat them back. But neither yet, though amazed at the ſtrangeneſs of thoſe new ſeacaſtles, bearing up ſo near, and ſo ſwiftly as almoſt to overwhelm them, the hurtling of oars, the battering of fierce engines againſt their bodies barely expoſed, did the Britains give much ground, or the Romans gain; till he who bore the eagle of the tenth legion, yet in the galleys, firſt beſeeching his gods, ſaid thus aloud, "Leap down ſoldiers, unleſs you mean to betray your enſign; I for my part will perform what I owe to the commonwealth and my general." This uttered, overboard he leaps, and with his eagle fiercely advanced runs upon the enemy; the reſt heartening one another not to admit the diſhonour of ſo nigh loſing their chief ſtandard, follow him reſolutely. Now was fought eagerly on both ſides. Ours who well knew their own advantages, and expertly uſed them, now in the ſhallows, now on the ſand, ſtill as the Romans went trooping to their enſigns, received them, diſpatched them, and with the help of their horſe, put them every where to great diſorder. But Cæſar cauſing all his boats and ſhallops to be filled with ſoldiers, commanded to ply up and down continually with relief where they ſaw need; whereby at length all the foot now diſembarked, and got together in ſome order on firm ground, with a more ſteady charge put the Britains to flight: but wanting all their horſe, whom the winds yet withheld from ſailing, they were not able to make purſuit. In this confuſed fight *, Scæva a Roman ſoldier having preſſed too far among the Britains, and beſet round, after incredible valour ſhown, ſingle againſt a multitude, ſwam back ſafe to his general; and in the place that rung with his praiſes, earneſtly beſought pardon for his raſh adventure againſt diſcipline: which modeſt confeſſing after no bad event, for ſuch a deed wherein valour and ingenuity ſo much outweighed

* Valer. Max. Plutarch.

tranſgreſſion,

tranſgreſſion, eaſily made amends and preferred him to be a centurion. Cæſar alſo is brought in by Julian*, attributing to himſelf the honour (if it were at all an honour to that perſon which he ſuſtained) of being the firſt that left his ſhip, and took land: but this were to make Cæſar leſs underſtand what became him than Scæva. The Britains finding themſelves maſtered in fight, forthwith ſend embaſſadors to treat of peace, promiſing to give hoſtages, and to be at command. With them Comius of Arras alſo returned; whom hitherto, ſince his firſt coming from Cæſar, they had detained in priſon as a ſpy: the blame whereof they lay on the common people; for whoſe violence, and their own imprudence they crave pardon. Cæſar complaining they had firſt ſought peace, and then without cauſe had begun war, yet content to pardon them, commands hoſtages: whereof part they bring in ſtraight, others, far up in the country to be ſent for, they promiſe in a few days. Mean while the people diſbanded and ſent home, many princes and chief men from all parts of the iſle ſubmit themſelves and their cities to the diſpoſe of Cæſar, who lay then encamped, as is thought, on Barham down. Thus had the Britains made their peace; when ſudddenly an accident unlooked for put new counſels into their minds. Four days after the coming of Cæſar, thoſe eighteen ſhips of burden, which from the upper haven had taken in all the Roman horſe, borne with a ſoft wind to the very coaſt, in ſight of the Roman camp, were by a ſudden tempeſt ſcattered and driven back, ſome to the port from whence they looſed, others down into the weſt country; who finding there no ſafety either to land or to caſt anchor, choſe rather to commit themſelves again to the troubled ſea; and, as Oroſius reports, were moſt of them caſt away. The ſame night, it being full moon, the galleys left upon dry land, were, unaware to the Romans, covered with a ſpringtide, and the greater ſhips, that lay off at anchor, torn and beaten with waves, to the great perplexity of Cæſar, and his whole army; who now had neither ſhipping left to convey them back, nor any proviſion made to ſtay here, intending to have wintered in Gallia All

* In Cæſaribus.

this

this the Britains well perceiving, and by the compaſs of his camp, which without baggage appeared the ſmaller, gueſſing at his numbers, conſult together, and one by one ſlyly withdrawing from the camp, where they were waiting the concluſion of a peace, reſolve to ſtop all proviſions, and to draw out the buſineſs till winter. Cæſar, though ignorant of what they intended, yet from the condition wherein he was, and their other hoſtages not ſent, ſuſpecting what was likely, begins to provide apace, all that might be, againſt what might happen; lays in corn, and with materials fetched from the continent, and what was left of thoſe ſhips which were paſt help, he repairs the reſt. So that now by the inceſſant labour of his ſoldiers, all but twelve were again made ſerviceable. While theſe things are doing, one of the legions being ſent out to forage, as was accuſtomed, and no ſuſpicion of war, while ſome of the Britains were remaining in the country about, others alſo going and coming freely to the Roman quarters, they who were in ſtation at the camp gates ſent ſpeedily word to Cæſar, that from that part of the country, to which the legion went, a greater duſt than uſual was ſeen to riſe. Cæſar gueſſing the matter, commands the cohorts of guard to follow him thither, two others to ſucceed in their ſtead, the reſt all to arm and follow. They had not marched long, when Cæſar diſcerns his legion ſore overcharged: for the Britains not doubting but that their enemies on the morrow would be in that place which only they had left unreaped of all their harveſt, had placed an ambuſh; and while they were diſperſed and buſieſt at their labour, ſet upon them, killed ſome, and routed the reſt. The manner of their fight was from a kind of chariots; wherein riding about and throwing darts, with the clutter of their horſe, and of their wheels, they ofttimes broke the rank of their enemies; then retreating among the horſe, and quitting their chariots, they fought on foot. The charioteers in the mean while ſomewhat aſide from the battle, ſet themſelves in ſuch order that their maſters at any time oppreſſed with odds, might retire ſafely thither, having performed with one perſon both the nimble ſervice of a horſeman, and the ſteadfaſt duty of a foot-

ſoldier.

ſoldier. So much they could with their chariots by uſe and exerciſe, as riding on the ſpeed down a ſteep hill, to ſtop ſuddenly, and with a ſhort rein turn ſwiftly, now running on the beam, now on the yoke, then in the ſeat. With this ſort of new ſkirmiſhing the Romans now overmatched and terrified, Cæſar with opportune aid appears; for then the Britains make a ſtand: but he conſidering that now was not fit time to offer battle, while his men were ſcarce recovered of ſo late a fear, only keeps his ground, and ſoon after leads back his legions to the camp. Further action for many days following was hindered on both ſides by foul weather; in which time the Britains diſpatching meſſengers round about, learn to how few the Romans were reduced, what hope of praiſe and booty, and now, if ever, of freeing themſelves from the fear of like invaſions hereafter, by making theſe an example, if they could but now uncamp their enemies; at this intimation multitudes of horſe and foot coming down from all parts, make towards the Romans. Cæſar foreſeeing that the Britains, though beaten and put to flight, would eaſily evade his foot, yet with no more than thirty horſe, which Comius had brought over, draws out his men to battle, puts again the Britains to flight, purſues with ſlaughter, and returning burns and lays waſte all about. Whereupon embaſſadors the ſame day being ſent from the Britains to deſire peace, Cæſar as his affairs at preſent ſtood, for ſo great a breach of faith, only impoſes on them double the former hoſtages to be ſent after him into Gallia: and becauſe September was nigh half ſpent, a ſeaſon not fit to tempt the ſea with his weatherbeaten fleet, the ſame night with a fair wind he departs towards Belgia; whither two only of the Britiſh cities ſent hoſtages, as they promiſed, the reſt neglected. But at Rome when the news came of Cæſar's acts here, whether it were eſteemed a conqueſt or a fair eſcape, ſupplication of twenty days is decreed by the ſenate, as either for an exploit done, or a diſcovery made, wherein both Cæſar and the Romans gloried not a little, though it brought no benefit either to him or to the commonwealth.

The

The winter following *, Cæſar, as his cuſtom was, going into Italy, whenas he ſaw that moſt of the Britons regarded not to ſend their hoſtages, appoints his legates whom he left in Belgia, to provide what poſſible ſhipping they could either build, or repair. Low built they were to be, as thereby eaſier both to freight, and to hale aſhore; nor needed to be higher, becauſe the tide ſo often changing, was obſerved to make the billows leſs in our ſea than thoſe in the Mediterranean: broader likewiſe they were made, for the better tranſporting of horſes, and all other freightage, being intended chiefly to that end. Theſe all about ſix hundred in a readineſs, with twenty-eight ſhips of burden, and what with adventurers, and other hulks about two hundred, Cotta one of the legates wrote them, as Athenæus affirms, in all one thouſand; Cæſar from port Iccius, a paſſage of ſome thirty mile over, leaving behind him Labienus to guard the haven, and for other ſupply at need, with five legions, though but two thouſand horſe, about ſunſet hoiſting ſail with a ſlack ſouth-weſt, at midnight was becalmed. And finding when it was light, that the whole navy lying on the current, had fallen off from the iſle, which now they could deſcry on their left hand; by the unwearied labour of his ſoldiers, who refuſed not to tug the oar, and kept courſe with ſhips under ſail, he bore up as near as might be, to the ſame place where he had landed the year before; where about noon arriving †, no enemy could be ſeen. For the Britons, which in great number, as was after known, had been there, at ſight of ſo huge a fleet durſt not abide. Cæſar forthwith landing his army, and encamping to his beſt advantage, ſome notice being given him by thoſe he took, where to find his enemy; with the whole power, ſave only ten cohorts, and three hundred horſe, left to Quintus Atrius for the guard of his ſhips, about the third watch of the ſame night, marches up twelve miles into the country. And at length by a river, commonly thought the Stowre in Kent, eſpies embattled the Britiſh forces. They with their horſes and chariots advancing to the higher banks, oppoſe the Romans in their march, and begin the fight;

* Dion, Cæſar Com. 5. † Before the birth of Chriſt, 52.

but repulſed by the Roman cavalry, give back into the woods to a place notably made ſtrong both by art and nature; which, it ſeems, had been a fort, or hold of ſtrength raiſed heretofore in time of wars among themſelves. For entrance, and acceſs on all ſides, by the felling of huge trees overthwart one another, was quite barred up; and within theſe the Britons did their utmoſt to keep out the enemy. But the ſoldiers of the ſeventh legion locking all their ſhields together like a roof cloſe over head, and others raiſing a mount, without much loſs of blood took the place, and drove them all to forſake the woods. Purſuit they made not long, as being through ways unknown, and now evening came on, which they more wiſely ſpent, in chooſing out where to pitch and fortify their camp that night. The next morning Cæſar had but newly ſent out his men in three bodies to purſue, and the laſt no further gone than yet in ſight, when horſemen all in poſt from Quintus Atrius bring word to Cæſar, that almoſt all his ſhips in a tempeſt that night had ſuffered wreck, and lay broken upon the ſhore. Cæſar at this news recalls his legions, himſelf in all haſte riding back to the ſeaſide, beheld with his eyes the ruinous proſpect. About forty veſſels were ſunk and loſt, the reſidue ſo torn and ſhaken, as not to be newrigged without much labour. Straight he aſſembles what number of ſhipwrights either in his own legions or from beyond ſea could be ſummoned; appoints Labienus on the Belgian ſide to build more; and with a dreadful induſtry of ten days, not reſpiting the ſoldiers day or night, drew up all his ſhips, and intrenched them round within the circuit of his camp. This done, and leaving to their defence the ſame ſtrength as before, he returns with his whole forces to the ſame wood, where he had defeated the Britons; who preventing him with greater powers than before, had now repoſſeſſed themſelves of the place, under Caſſibelan their chief leader: whoſe territory from the ſtates bordering on the ſea was divided by the river Thames about eighty miles inward. With him formerly other cities had continual war; but now in the common danger had all made choice of him to be their general. Here the Britiſh horſe and charioteers meeting

meeting with the Roman cavalry fought ſtoutly; and at firſt, ſomething overmatched, they retreat to the near advantage of their woods and hills, but ſtill followed by the Romans, made head again, cut off the forwardeſt among them, and after ſome pauſe, while Cæſar, who thought the day's work had been done, was buſied about the intrenching of his camp, march out again, give fierce aſſault to the very ſtations of his guards and ſentries; and while the main cohorts of two legions, that were ſent to the alarm, ſtood within a ſmall diſtance of each other, terrified at the newneſs and boldneſs of their fight, charged back again through the midſt, without loſs of a man. Of the Romans that day was ſlain Quintus Laberius Durus a tribune; the Britons having fought their fill at the very entrance of Cæſar's camp, and ſuſtained the reſiſtance of his whole army intrenched, gave over the aſſault. Cæſar here acknowledges, that the Roman way both of arming, and of fighting, was not ſo well fitted againſt this kind of enemy; for that the foot in heavy armour could not follow their cunning flight, and durſt not by ancient diſcipline ſtir from their enſign; and the horſe alone disjoined from the legions, againſt a foe that turned ſuddenly upon them with a mixed encounter both of horſe and foot, were in equal danger both following and retiring. Beſides their faſhion was, not in great bodies, and cloſe order, but in ſmall diviſions and open diſtances to make their onſet; appointing others at certain ſpaces, now to relieve and bring off the weary, now to ſucceed and renew the conflict; which argued no ſmall experience, and uſe of arms. Next day the Britons afar off upon the hills begin to ſhow themſelves here and there, and though leſs boldly than before, to ſkirmiſh with the Roman horſe. But at noon Cæſar having ſent out three legions, and all his horſe, with Trebonius the legate, to ſeek fodder, ſuddenly on all ſides they ſet upon the foragers, and charge up after them to the very legions, and their ſtandards. The Romans with great courage beat them back, and in the chace, being well ſeconded by the legions, not giving them time either to rally, to ſtand, or to deſcend from their chariots as they were wont, ſlew many. From

this overthrow, the Britons that dwelt farther off betook them home; and came no more after that time with ſo great a power againſt Cæſar. Whereof adverti ſed, he marches onward to the frontiers of Caſſibelan *, which on this ſide was bounded by the Thames, not paſſable except in one place, and that difficult, about Cowayſtakes near Oatlands, as is conjectured. Hither coming he deſcries on the other ſide great forces of the enemy, placed in good array; the bank ſet all with ſharp ſtakes, others in the bottom, covered with water; whereof the marks in Beda's time, were to be ſeen, as he relates. This having learned by ſuch as were taken, or had run to him, he firſt commands his horſe to paſs over; then his foot, who wading up to the neck, went on ſo reſolutely and ſo faſt, that they on the other ſide, not enduring the violence, retreated and fled. Caſſibelan no more now in hope to contend for victory, diſmiſſing all but four thouſand of thoſe charioteers, through woods and intricate ways attends their motion; where the Romans are to paſs, drives all before him; and with continual ſallies upon the horſe, where they leaſt expected, cutting off ſome and terrifying others, compels them ſo cloſe together, as gave them no leave to fetch in prey or booty without ill ſucceſs. Whereupon Cæſar ſtrictly commanding all not to part from the legions, had nothing left him in his way but empty fields and houſes, which he ſpoiled and burnt. Mean while the Trinobantes, a ſtate or kingdom, and perhaps the greateſt then among the Britons, leſs favouring Caſſibelan, ſend ambaſſadors, and yield to Cæſar upon this reaſon. Immanuentius had been their king; him Caſſibelan had ſlain, and purpoſed the like to Mandubratius his ſon, whom Oroſius calls Androgorius, Beda Androgius; but the youth eſcaping by flight into Gallia, put himſelf under the protection of Cæſar. Theſe entreat, that Mandubratius may be ſtill defended, and ſent home to ſucceed in his father's right. Cæſar ſends him, demands forty hoſtages and proviſion for his army, which they immediately bring in, and have their confines protected from the ſoldiers. By their example the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci,

* Camden.

Caſſi

Caſſi (ſo I write them, for the modern names are but gueſſed) on like terms make their peace. By them he learns that the town of Caſſibelan, ſuppoſed to be Verulam, was not far diſtant; fenced about with woods and marſhes, well ſtuffed with men and much cattle. For towns then in Britain were only woody places ditched round, and with a mud wall encompaſſed againſt the inroads of enemies. Thither goes Cæſar with his legions, and though a place of great ſtrength both by art and nature, aſſaults it in two places. The Britons after ſome defence fled out all at another end of the town; in the flight many were taken, many ſlain, and great ſtore of cattle found there. Caſſibelan for all theſe loſſes yet deſerts not himſelf; nor was yet his authority ſo much impaired, but that in Kent, though in a manner poſſeſſed by the enemy, his meſſengers and commands find obedience enough to raiſe all the people. By his direction, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, four kings reigning in thoſe countries which lie upon the ſea, lead them on to aſſault that camp, wherein the Romans had entrenched their ſhipping: but they whom Cæſar left there iſſuing out ſlew many, and took priſoner Cingetorix a noted leader, without loſs of their own. Caſſibelan after ſo many defeats, moved eſpecially by revolt of the cities from him, their inconſtancy and falſhood one to another, uſes mediation by Comius of Arras to ſend ambaſſadors about treaty of yielding. Cæſar, who had determined to winter in the continent, by reaſon that Gallia was unſettled, and not much of the ſummer now behind, commands him only hoſtages, and what yearly tribute the iſland ſhould pay to Rome, forbids him to moleſt the Trinobantes, or Mandubratius; and with his hoſtages, and a great number of captives, he puts to ſea, having at twice embarked his whole army. At his return to Rome, as from a glorius enterpriſe, he offers to Venus, the patroneſs of his family, a corſlet of Britiſh pearls *.

Howbeit other ancient writers have ſpoken more doubtfully of Cæſar's victories here; and that in plain terms he fled from hence; for which the common verſe

* Pliny.

in Lucan, with divers paſſages here and there in Tacitus, is alleged. Paulus Oroſius *, who took what he wrote from a hiſtory of Suetonius now loſt, writes, that Cæſar in his firſt journey, entertained with a ſharp fight, loſt no ſmall number of his foot, and by tempeſt nigh all his horſe. Dion affirms, that once in the ſecond expediton all his foot were routed; Oroſius that another time all his horſe. The Britiſh author, whom I uſe only then when others are all ſilent, hath many trivial diſcourſes of Cæſar's being here, which are beſt omitted. Nor have we more of Caſſibelan, than what the ſame ſtory tells, how he warred ſoon after with Androgeus, about his nephew ſlain by Evelinus nephew to the other; which buſineſs at length compoſed, Caſſibelan dies, and was buried in York, if the Monmouth book fable not. But at Cæſar's coming hither, ſuch likelieſt were the Britons, as the writers of thoſe times †, and their own actions repreſent them; in courage and warlike readineſs to take advantage by ambuſh or ſudden onſet, not inferiour to the Romans, nor Caſſibelan to Cæſar; in weapons, arms, and the ſkill of encamping, embattling, fortifying, overmatched; their weapons were a ſhort ſpear and light target, a ſword alſo by their ſide, their fight ſometimes in chariots fanged at the axle with iron ſithes, their bodies moſt part naked, only painted, with woad in ſundry figures, to ſeem terrible ‡, as they thought, but, purſued by enemies, not nice of their painting to run into bogs worſe than wild Iriſh up to the neck, and there to ſtay many days holding a certain morſel in their mouths no bigger than a bean, to ſuffice hunger §; but that receipt, and the temperance it taught, is long ſince unknown among us: their towns and ſtrong holds were ſpaces of ground fenced about with a ditch, and great trees felled overthwart each other, their buildings within were thatched houſes for themſelves and their cattle: in peace the upland inhabitants, beſides hunting, tended their flocks and herds, but with little ſkill of country affairs; the making of cheeſe they commonly knew not, wool or flax they ſpun not, gardening and planting

* Oroſ. lib. 6, c. 7, & 8. † Dion, Mela, Cæſar.
‡ Herodian. § Dion.

many

many of them knew not; clothing they had none, but what the ſkins of beaſts afforded them *, and that not always; yet gallantry they had †, painting their own ſkins with ſeveral portraitures of beaſt, bird, or flower, a vanity which hath not yet left us, removed only from the ſkin to the ſkirt behung now with as many coloured ribands and gewgaws: towards the ſeaſide they tilled the ground, and lived much after the manner of Gauls their neighbours, or firſt planters ‡: their money was brazen pieces or iron rings, their beſt merchandize tin, the reſt trifles of glaſs, ivory, and ſuch like §; yet gems and pearls they had, ſaith Mela, in ſome rivers: their ſhips of light timber wickered with oſier between, and covered over with leather, ſerved not therefore to tranſport them far, and their commodities were fetched away by foreign merchants: their dealing, ſaith Diodorus, plain and ſimple without fraud; their civil government under many princes and ſtates ||, not confederate or conſulting in common, but miſtruſtful, and ofttimes warring one with the other, which gave them up one by one an eaſy conqueſt to the Romans: their religion was governed by a ſort of prieſts or magicians, called Druids from the Greek name of an oak, which tree they had in great reverence, and the miſtletoe eſpecially growing thereon. Pliny writes them ſkilled in magic no leſs than thoſe of Perſia; by their abſtaining from a hen, a hare and a gooſe, from fiſh alſo, ſaith Dion, and their opinion of the ſoul's paſſing after death into other bodies **, they may be thought to have ſtudied Pythagoras; yet philoſophers I cannot call them, reported men factious and ambitious, contending ſometimes about the archprieſthood not without civil war and ſlaughter; nor reſtrained they the people under them from a lewd, adulterous, and inceſtuous life, ten or twelve men, abſurdly againſt nature, poſſeſſing one woman as their common wife, though of neareſt kin, mother, daughter or ſiſter; progenitors not to be gloried in. But the goſpel, not long after preached here, aboliſhed ſuch impurities, and of the Romans we have cauſe not to ſay much worſe, than

* Herodian. † Solinus. ‡ Cæſar. § Tacitus, Diodor., Strabo, Lucan. || Tacitus. ** Cæſar.

that they beat us into ſome civility; likely elſe to have continued longer in a barbarous and ſavage manner of life. After Julius (for Julius before his death tyrannouſly had made himſelf emperor of the Roman commonwealth, and was ſlain in the ſenate for ſo doing) he who next obtained the empire, Octavianus Cæſar Auguſtus, either contemning the iſland, as Strabo * would have us think, whoſe neither benefit was worth the having, nor enimity worth the fearing; or out of a wholeſome ſtate-maxim, as ſome ſay, to moderate and bound the empire from growing vaſt and unwieldy, made no attempt againſt the Britons. But the truer cauſe was partly civil war among the Romans, partly other affairs more urging. For about twenty years after †, all which time the Britons had lived at their own diſpoſe, Auguſtus, in imitation of his uncle Julius, either intending or ſeeming to intend an expedition hither, was come into Gallia, when the news of a revolt in Pannonia diverted him §: about ſeven years after in the ſame reſolution, what with the unſettledneſs of Gallia, and what with ambaſſadors from Britain which met him there, he proceeded not. The next year, difference ariſing about covenants, he was again prevented by other new commotions in Spain. Nevertheleſs ſome of the Britiſh potentates omitted not to ſeek his friendſhip by gifts offered in the Capitol, and other obſequious addreſſes. Inſomuch that the whole iſland || became even in thoſe days well known to the Romans; too well perhaps for them, who from the knowledge of us were ſo like to prove enemies. But as for tribute, the Britons paid none to Auguſtus, except what eaſy cuſtoms were levied on the ſlight commodities wherewith they traded into Gallia.

After Caſſibelan, Tenantius the younger ſon of Lud, according to the Monmouth ſtory, was made king. For Androgeus the elder, conceiving himſelf generally hated for ſiding with the Romans, forſook his claim here, and followed Cæſar's fortune. This king is recorded juſt and warlike.

*Strabo, l. 2. † Year before the birth of Chriſt, 32. § Dion, l. 49; year before the birth of Chriſt, 25: Dion, l. 53, 24. || Strabo, l. 4.

His

His ſon Kymbeline, or Cunobeline, ſucceeding, was brought up, as is ſaid, in the court of Auguſtus, and with him held friendly correſpondences to the end; was a warlike prince; his chief ſeat Camalodunum, or Maldon, as by certain of his coins, yet to be ſeen, appears. Tiberius, the next emperor, adhering always to the advice of Auguſtus, and of himſelf leſs caring to extend the bounds of his empire, ſought not the Britons; and they as little to incite him, ſent home courteouſly the ſoldiers of Germanicus, that by ſhipwreck had been caſt on the Britiſh ſhore *. But Caligula †, his ſucceſſor, a wild and diſſolute tyrant, having paſſed the Alps with intent to rob and ſpoil thoſe provinces, and ſtirred up by Adminius the ſon of Cunobeline; who, by his father baniſhed, with a ſmall number fled thither to him, made ſemblance of marching toward Britain; but being come to the ocean, and there behaving himſelf madly and ridiculouſly, went back the ſame way: yet ſent before him boaſting letters to the ſenate, as if all Britain had been yielded him Cunobeline now dead, Adminius the eldeſt by his father baniſhed from his country, and by his own practice againſt it from the crown, though by an old coin ſeeming to have alſo reigned; Togodumnus, and Caractacus the two younger, uncertain whether unequal or ſubordinate in power, were advanced into his place. But through civil diſcord, Bericus (what he was further, is not known) with others of his party flying to Rome ‡, perſuaded Claudius the emperor to an invaſion. Claudius now conſul the third time, and deſirous to do ſomething, whence he might gain the honour of a triumph, at the perſuaſion of theſe fugitives, whom the Britons demanding, he had denied to render, and they for that cauſe had denied further amity with Rome, makes choice of this iſland for his province §: and ſends before him Aulus Plautius the prætor, with this command, if the buſineſs grew difficult, to give him notice. Plautius with much ado perſuaded the legions to move out of Gallia, murmuring that now they muſt be put to make

* Tacit. an. l. 2. † Year after the birth of Chriſt, 16. Dion, Sueton. Cal. An. Dom. 40. ‡ Dion. § 43. Sueton.

war

war beyond the world's end, for ſo they counted Britain; and what welcome Julius the dictator found there, doubtleſs they had heard. At laſt prevailed with, and hoiſting ſail from three ſeveral ports, leſt their landing ſhould in any one place be reſiſted, meeting croſs winds, they were caſt back and diſheartened: till in the night a meteor ſhooting flames from the Eaſt, and, as they fancied directing their courſe, they took heart again to try the ſea, and without oppoſition landed. For the Britons, having heard of their unwillingneſs to come, had been negligent to provide againſt them; and retiring to the woods and moors, intended to fruſtrate and wear them out with delays, as they had ſerved Cæſar before. Plautius, after much trouble to find them out, encountering firſt with Caractacus, then with Togodumnus, overthrew them; and receiving into conditions part of the Boduni, who then were ſubject to the Catuellani, and leaving there a garriſon, went on toward a river; where the Britons not imagining that Plautius without a bridge could paſs, lay on the further ſide careleſs and ſecure. But he ſending firſt the Germans, whoſe cuſtom was, armed as they were, to ſwim with eaſe the ſtrongeſt current, commands them to ſtrike eſpecially at the horſes, whereby the chariots, wherein conſiſted their chief art of fight, became unſerviceable. To ſecond them he ſent Veſpaſian, who in his latter days obtained the empire, and Sabinus his brother; who unexpectedly aſſailing thoſe who were leaſt aware, did much execution. Yet not for this were the Britons diſmayed; but reuniting the next day, fought with ſuch a courage, as made it hard to decide which way hung the victory: till Caius Sidius Geta, at point to have been taken, recovered himſelf ſo valiantly, as brought the day on his ſide; for which at Rome he received high honours. After this the Britons drew back toward the mouth of Thames, and, acquainted with thoſe places, croſſed over; where the Romans following them through bogs and dangerous flats, hazarded the loſs of all. Yet the Germans getting over, and others by a bridge at ſome place above, fell on them again with ſundry alarms and great ſlaughter; but in the heat of purſuit running themſelves again into bogs and mires,

loſt

loſt as many of their own. Upon which ill ſucceſs, and ſeeing the Britons more enraged at the death of Togodumnus, who in one of theſe battles had been ſlain, Plautius fearing the worſt, and glad that he could hold what he held, as was enjoined him, ſends to Claudius. He who waited ready with a huge preparation, as if not ſafe enough amidſt the flower of all his Romans, like a great Eaſtern king, with armed elephants marches through Gallia. So full of peril was this enterpriſe eſteemed, as not without all this equipage, and ſtranger terrours than Roman armies, to meet the native and the naked Britiſh valour defending their country. Joined with Plautius, who encamping on the bank of Thames attended him, he paſſes the river. The Britons, who had the courage, but not the wiſe conduct of old Caſſibelan, laying all ſtratagem aſide, in downright manhood ſcruple not to affront in open field almoſt the whole power of the Roman empire. But overcome and vaniſhed, part by force, others by treaty come in and yield. Claudius therefore, who took Camalodunum, the royal ſeat of Cunobeline, was often by the army ſaluted Imperator; a military title which uſually they gave their general after any notable exploit; but to others, not above once in the ſame war; as if Claudius, by theſe acts, had deſerved more than the laws of Rome had provided honour to reward. Having therefore diſarmed the Britons, but remitted the confiſcation of their goods *, for which they worſhipped him with ſacrifice and temple as a god, leaving Plautius to ſubdue what remained; he returns to Rome, from whence he had been abſent only ſix months, and in Britain but ſixteen days; ſending the news before him of his victories, though in a ſmall part of the iſland. By which is manifeſtly refuted that which Eutropius and Oroſius write of his conquering at that time alſo the Orcades iſlands, lying to the North of Scotland; and not conquered by the Romans (for aught found in any good author) till above forty years after, as ſhall appear. To Claudius the ſenate, as for achievements of higheſt merit, decreed exceſſive honours; arches triumphs, an-

* Dion, l. 62. Tacit. an. 14, 44.

nual

nual ſolemnities, and the ſurname of Britannicus both to him and his ſon.

Suetonius writes, that Claudius found here no reſiſtance, and that all was done without ſtroke: but this ſeems not probable. The Monmouth writer names theſe two ſons of Cunobeline, Guiderius and Arviragus; that Guiderius being ſlain in fight, Arviragus, to conceal it, put on his brother's habiliments, and in his perſon held up the battle to a victory; the reſt, as of Hano the Roman captain, Genuiſſa the emperor's daughter, and ſuch like ſtuff, is too palpably untrue to be worth rehearſing in the midſt of truth. Plautius after this, employing his freſh forces to conquer on, and quiet the rebelling countries, found work enough to deſerve at his return a kind of triumphant riding into the Capitol ſide by ſide with the emperor *. Veſpaſian alſo under Plautius had thirty conflicts with the enemy; in one of which encompaſſed, and in great danger, he was valiantly and piouſly reſcued by his ſon Titus †: two powerful nations he ſubdued here, above twenty towns and the Iſle of Wight; for which he received at Rome triumphal ornaments, and other great dignities. For that city in reward of virtue was ever magnificent; and long after when true merit was ceaſed among them, leſt any thing reſembling virtue ſhould want honour, the ſame rewards were yet allowed to the very ſhadow and oſtentation of merit. Oſtorius in the room of Plautius viceprætor, met with turbulent affairs; ‡ the Britons not ceaſing to vex with inroads all thoſe countries that were yielded to the Romans; and now the more eagerly §, ſuppoſing that the new general, unacquainted with his army, and on the edge of winter, would not haſtily oppoſe them. But he weighing that firſt events were moſt available to breed fear or contempt, with ſuch cohorts as were next at hand, ſets out againſt them: whom having routed, ſo cloſe he follows, as one who meant not to be every day moleſted with the cavils of a ſlight peace, or an emboldened enemy. Leſt they ſhould make head again, he diſarms whom he ſuſpects; and to ſurround them, places many garriſons upon the

* Sueton. Claud. 5, 24. † Sueton. Veſp. Dio. l. 60 47.
‡ 50. Tacit. an. 12. § Eutropius.

rivers

rivers of Antona and Sabrina. But the Icenians, a ſtout people, untouched yet by theſe wars, as having before ſought alliance with the Romans, were the firſt that brooked not this. By their example others riſe; and in a choſen place, fenced with high banks of earth and narrow lanes to prevent the horſe, warily encamp. Oſtorius though yet not ſtrengthened with his legions, cauſes the auxiliar bands, his troops alſo alighting, to aſſault the rampart. They within, though peſtered with their own number, ſtood to it like men reſolved, and in a narrow compaſs did remarkable deeds. But overpowered at laſt, and others by their ſucceſs quieted, who till then wavered, Oſtorius next bends his force upon the Cangians, waſting all even to the ſea of Ireland, without foe in his way, or them, who durſt, ill handled; when the Brigantes, attempting new matters, drew him back to ſettle firſt what was unſecure behind him. They, of whom the chief were puniſhed, the reſt forgiven, ſoon gave over; but the Silures, no way tractable, were not to be repreſſed without a ſet war. To further this, Camalodunum was planted with a colony of veteran ſoldiers; to be a firm and ready aid againſt revolt, and a means to teach the natives Roman law and civility. Cogidunus alſo a Britiſh king, their faſt friend, had to the ſame intent certain cities given him *: a haughty craft, which the Romans uſed, to make kings alſo the ſervile agents of enſlaving others. But the Silures, hardy of themſelves, relied more on the valour of Caractacus; whom many doubtful, many proſperous ſucceſſes had made eminent above all that ruled in Britain. He, adding to his courage policy, and knowing himſelf to be of ſtrength inferior, in other advantages the better, makes the ſeat of his war among the Ordovices; a country wherein al. the odds were to his own party, all the difficulties to his enemy. The hills and every acceſs he fortified with heaps of ſtones, and guards of men; to come at whom a river of unſafe paſſage muſt be firſt waded. The place, as Camden conjectures, had thence the name of Caer-caradoc on the Weſt edge of Shropſhire. He himſelf conti-

* Tacit. vit. Agric.

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nually went up and down, animating his officers and leaders, that "this was the day, this the field, either to defend their liberty, or to die free;" calling to mind the names of his glorious anceſtors, who drove Cæſar the dictator out of Britain, whoſe valour hitherto had preſerved them from bondage, their wives and children from diſhonour. Inflamed with theſe words, they all vow their utmoſt, with ſuch undaunted reſolution as amazed the Roman general; but the ſoldiers leſs weighing, becauſe leſs knowing, clamoured to be led on againſt any danger. Oſtorius, after wary circumſpection, bids them paſs the river: the Britons no ſooner had them within reach of their arrows, darts and ſtones, but ſlew and wounded largely of the Romans. They on the other ſide cloſing their ranks, and over head cloſing their targets, threw down the looſe rampires of the Britons, and purſue them up the hills, both light and armed legions; till what with galling darts and heavy ſtrokes, the Britons, who wore neither helmet nor cuiraſs to defend them, were at laſt overcome. This the Romans thought a famous victory; wherein the wife and daughther of Caractacus were taken, his brothers alſo reduced to obedience; himſelf eſcaping to Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes, againſt faith given was to the victors delivered bound; having held out againſt the Romans nine years, ſaith Tacitus, but by truer computation, ſeven. Whereby his name was up through all the adjoining provinces, even to Italy and Rome; many deſiring to ſee who he was, that could withſtand ſo many years the Roman puiſſance: and Cæſar, to extol his own victory, extolled the man whom he had vanquiſhed. Being brought to Rome, the people as to a ſolemn ſpectacle were called together, the emperor's guard ſtood in arms. In order came firſt the king's ſervants, bearing his trophies won in other wars, next his brothers, wife and daughter, laſt himſelf. The behaviour of others, through fear, was low and degenerate; he only neither in countenance, word, or action ſubmiſſive, ſtanding at the tribunal of Claudius, briefly ſpake to this purpoſe: "If my mind, Cæſar, had been as moderate in the height of fortune, as my birth and dignity was eminent,

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I might have come a friend rather than a captive into this city. Nor couldſt thou have diſliked him for a confederate, ſo noble of deſcent, and ruling ſo many nations. My preſent eſtate to me diſgraceful, to thee is glorious. I had riches, horſes, arms, and men; no wonder then if I contended, not to loſe them. But if by fate, yours only muſt be empire, then of neceſſity ours among the reſt muſt be ſubjection. If I ſooner had been brought to yield, my misfortune had been leſs notorious, your conqueſt had been leſs renowned; and in your ſevereſt determining of me, both will be ſoon forgotten. But if you grant that I ſhall live, by me will live to you for ever that praiſe which is ſo near divine, the clemency of a conqueror." Cæſar moved at ſuch a ſpectacle of fortune, but eſpecially at the nobleneſs of his bearing it, gave him pardon, and to all the reſt. They all unbound, ſubmiſsly thank him, and did like reverence to Agrippina the emperor's wife, who ſat by in ſtate; a new and diſdained ſight to the manly eyes of Romans, a woman ſitting public in her female pride among enſigns and armed cohorts. To Oſtorius triumph is decreed; and his acts eſteemed equal to theirs, that brought in bonds to Rome famouſeſt kings. But the ſame proſperity attended not his later actions here; for the Silures, whether to revenge their loſs of Caractacus, or that they ſaw Oſtorius, as if now all were done, leſs earneſt ro reſtrain them, beſet the prefect of his camp, left there with legionary bands to appoint garriſons: and had not ſpeedy aid come in from the neighbouring holds and caſtles, had cut them all off; notwithſtanding which, the prefect with eight centurions, and many their ſtouteſt men, were ſlain: and upon the neck of this, meeting firſt with Roman foragers, then with other troops haſting to their relief, utterly foiled and broke them alſo. Oſtorius ſending more after, could hardly ſtay their flight; till the weighty legions coming on, at firſt poiſed the battle, at length turned the ſcale: to the Britons without much loſs, for by that time it grew night. Then was the war ſhivered, as it were, into ſmall frays and bickerings; not unlike ſometimes to ſo many robberies, in woods, at waters, as chance or valour, advice or raſhneſs, led them on,

on, commanded or without command. That which moſt exaſperated the Silures, was a report of certain words caſt out by the emperor, "That he would root them out to the very name." Therefore two cohorts more of auxiliars, by the avarice of their leaders too ſecurely pillaging, they quite intercepted; and beſtowing liberally the ſpoils and captives, whereof they took plenty, drew other countries to join with them. Theſe loſſes falling ſo thick upon the Romans, Oſtorius with the thought and anguiſh thereof ended his days; the Britons rejoicing, although no battle, that yet adverſe war had worn out ſo great a ſoldier. Cæſar in his place ordains Aulus Didius; but ere his coming, though much haſtened, that the province might not want a governor, the Silures had given an overthrow to Manlius Valens with his legion, rumoured on both ſides greater than was true, by the Silures to animate the new general; by him in a double reſpect, of the more praiſe if he quelled them, or the more excuſe if he failed. Mean time the Silures forgot not to infeſt the Roman pale with wide excurſions; till Didius marching out, kept them ſomewhat more within bounds. Nor were they long to ſeek, who after Caractacus ſhould lead them; for next to him in worth and ſkill of war, Venutius, a prince of the Brigantes, merited to be their chief. He at firſt faithful to the Romans, and by them protected, was the huſband of Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes, himſelf perhaps reigning elſewhere. She who had betrayed Caractacus and her country to adorn the triumph of Claudius, thereby grown powerful and gracious with the Romans, preſuming on the hire of her treaſon, deſerted her huſband; and marrying Vellocatus one of his ſquires, confers on him the kingdom alſo. This deed ſo odious and full of infamy, diſturbed the whole ſtate; Venutius with other forces, and the help of her own ſubjects, who deteſted the example of ſo foul a fact, and withal the uncomelineſs of their ſubjection to the monarchy of a woman, a piece of manhood not every day to be found among Britons, though ſhe had got by ſubtile train his brother with many of his kindred into her hands, brought her ſoon below the confidence of being able to

reſiſt longer. When imploring the Roman aid, with much ado, and after many a hard encounter, ſhe eſcaped the puniſhment which was ready to have ſeized her. Venutius thus debarred the authority of ruling his own houſhold, juſtly turns his anger againſt the Romans themſelves; whoſe magnanimity not wont to undertake diſhonourable cauſes, had arrogantly intermeddled in his domeſtic affairs, to uphold the rebellion of an adultreſs againſt her huſband. And the kingdom he retained againſt their utmoſt oppoſition; and of war gave them their fill; firſt in a ſharp conflict of uncertain event, then againſt the legion of Cæſius Naſica. Inſomuch that Didius growing old, and managing the war by deputies, had work enough to ſtand on his defence, with the gaining now and then of a ſmall caſtle. And Nero * (for in that part of the iſle things continued in the ſame plight to the reign of Veſpaſian) was minded but for ſhame to have withdrawn the Roman forces out of Britain: in other parts whereof, about the ſame time other things befel †. Verannius, whom Nero ſent hither to ſucceed Didius, dying in his firſt year, ſave a few inroads upon the Silures, left only a great boaſt behind him, "That in two years, had he lived, he would have conquered all." But Suetonius Paulinus, who next was ſent hither, eſteemed a ſoldier equal to the beſt in that age, for two years together went on proſperouſly, both confirming what was got, and ſubduing onward. At laſt overconfident of his preſent actions, and emulating others, of whoſe deeds he heard from abroad, marches up as far as Mona, the iſle of Angleſey, a populous place. For they, it ſeems, had both entertained fugitives, and given good aſſiſtance to the reſt that withſtood him. He makes him boats with flat bottoms, fitted to the ſhallows which he expected in that narrow frith; his foot ſo paſſed over, his horſe waded or ſwam. Thick upon the ſhore ſtood ſeveral groſs bands of men well weaponed, many women like furies running to and fro in diſmal habit, with hair looſe about their ſhoulders, held torches in their hands. The Druids (thoſe were their prieſts, of whom more in another place) with hands lift up to

* Tacit. vit. Agric. † Tacit. Hiſt. 3. Sueton.

Heaven uttering direful prayers, aſtoniſhed the Romans; who at ſo ſtrange a ſight ſtood in amaze, though wounded: at length awakened and encouraged by their general, not to fear a barbarous and lunatic rout, fall on, and beat them down ſcorched and rolling in their own fire. Then were they yoked with garriſons, and the places conſecrate to their bloody ſuperſtitions deſtroyed. For whom they took in war, they held it lawful to ſacrifice; and by the entrails of men uſed divination. While thus Paulinus had his thought ſtill fixed before to go on winning, his back lay broad open to occaſion of loſing more behind: for the Britons, urged and oppreſſed with many unſufferable injuries, had all banded themſelves to a general revolt. The particular cauſes are not all written by one author; Tacitus who lived next thoſe times of any to us extant, writes that Praſutagus king of the Icenians, abounding in wealth, had left Cæſar coheir with his two daughters; thereby hoping to have ſecured from all wrong both his kingdom and his houſe; which fell out far otherwiſe. For under colour to overſee and take poſſeſſion of the emperor's new inheritance, his kingdom became a prey to centurions, his houſe to ravening officers, his wife Boadicea violated with ſtripes, his daughters with rape, the wealthieſt of his ſubjects, as it were, by the will and teſtament of their king thrown out of their eſtates, his kindred made little better than ſlaves. The new colony alſo at Camalodunum took houſe or land from whom they pleaſed, terming them ſlaves and vaſſals; the ſoldiers complying with the colony, out of hope hereafter to uſe the ſame licence themſelves. Moreover the temple erected to Claudius as a badge of their eternal ſlavery, ſtood a great eyeſore; the prieſts whereof, under pretext of what was due to the religious ſervice, waſted and embezzled each man's ſubſtance upon themſelves. And Catus Decianus the procurator, endeavoured to bring all their goods within the compaſs of new confiſcation *, by diſavowing the remitment of Claudius. Laſtly, Seneca, in his books a philoſopher, having drawn the Britons unwillingly to borrow of him vaſt ſums upon fair promiſes of eaſy loan,

* Dion.

and

and for repayment to take their own time, on a ſudden compels them to pay in all at once with great extortion. Thus provoked by heavieſt ſufferings, and thus invited by opportunities in the abſence of Paulinus, the Icenians, and by their examples the Trinobantes, and as many elſe as hated ſervitude, riſe up in arms. Of theſe enſuing troubles many foregoing ſigns appeared; the image of victory at Camalodunum fell down of itſelf with her face turned, as it were, to the Britons; certain women, in a kind of ecſtacy, foretold of calamities to come: in the council-houſe were heard by night barbarous noiſes: in the theatre hideous howlings, in the creek horrid ſights, betokening the deſtruction of that colony; hereto the ocean ſeeming of a bloody hue, and human ſhapes at low ebb, left imprinted on the ſand, wrought in the Britons new courage, in the Romans unwonted fears. Camalodunum, where the Romans had ſeated themſelves to dwell pleaſantly, rather than defenſively, was not fortified; againſt that therefore the Britons make firſt aſſault. The ſoldiers within were not very many. Decianus the procurator could ſend them but two hundred, thoſe ill armed: and through the treachery of ſome among them, who ſecretly favoured the inſurrection, they had deferred both to entrench, and to ſend out ſuch as bore not arms; ſuch as did, flying to the temple, which on the ſecond day was forcibly taken, were all put to the ſword, the temple made a heap, the reſt rifled and burnt. Petilius Cerealis coming to his ſuccour, is in his way met and overthrown, his whole legion cut to pieces; he with his horſe hardly eſcaping to the Roman camp. Decianus, whoſe rapine was the cauſe of all this, fled into Gallia. But Suetonius at theſe tidings not diſmayed, through the midſt of his enemy's country, marches to London (though not termed a colony, yet full of Roman inhabitants, and for the frequency of trade, and other commodities, a town even then of principal note) with purpoſe to have made there the ſeat of war. But conſidering the ſmallneſs of his numbers, and the late raſhneſs of Petilius, he chooſes rather with the loſs of one town to ſave the reſt. Nor was he flexible to any prayers or weeping of them that

beſought him to tarry there; but taking with him ſuch as were willing, gave ſignal to depart; they who through weakneſs of ſex or age, or love of the place went not along, periſhed by the enemy; ſo did Verulam, a Roman free town. For the Britons omitting forts and caſtles, flew thither firſt where richeſt booty, and the hope of pillaging tolled them on. In this maſſacre about ſeventy thouſand Romans and their aſſociates, in the places above mentioned, of certain loſt their lives. None might be ſpared, none ranſomed, but taſted all either a preſent or a lingering death; no cruelty that either outrage or the inſolence of ſucceſs put into their heads, was left unacted. The Roman wives and virgins hanged up all naked *, had their breaſts cut off, and ſewed to their mouths; that in the grimneſs of death they might ſeem to eat their own fleſh; while the Britons fell to feaſting and carouſing in the temple of Andate their goddeſs of victory. Suetonius adding to his legion other old officers and ſoldiers thereabout, which gathered to him, were near upon ten thouſand; and purpoſing with thoſe not to defer battle, had choſen a place narrow, and not to be overwinged, on his rear a wood; being well informed that his enemy were all in front on a plain unapt for ambuſh: the legionaries ſtood thick in order, empaled with light armed; the horſe on either wing. The Britons in companies and ſquadrons were every where ſhouting and ſwarming, ſuch a multitude as at other time never; no leſs reckoned than two hundred and thirty thouſand: ſo fierce and confident of victory, that their wives alſo came in waggons to ſit and behold the ſports as they made full account of killing Romans: a folly doubtleſs for the ſerious Romans to ſmile at, as a ſure token of proſpering that day: a woman alſo was their commander in chief. For Boadicea and her daughters ride about in a chariot, telling the tall champions as a great encouragement, that with the Britons it was uſual for women to be their leaders. A deal of other fondneſs they put into her mouth, not worth recital; how ſhe was laſhed, how her daughters were handled, things worthier ſilence, retirement, and a vail, than for

* Dion. l. 62.

a woman

a woman to repeat, as done to her own perſon, or to hear repeated before a hoſt of men. The Greek hiſtorian * ſets her in the field on a high heap of turves, in a looſe-bodied gown declaiming, a ſpear in her hand, a hare in her boſom, which after a long circumlocution, ſhe was to let ſlip among them for luck's ſake; then praying to Andate the Britiſh goddeſs, to talk again as fondly as before. And this they do out of a vanity, hoping to embelliſh and ſet out their hiſtory with the ſtrangeneſs of our manners, not caring in the mean while to brand us with the rankeſt note of barbariſm, as if in Britain women were men, and men women. I affect not ſet ſpeeches in a hiſtory, unleſs known for certain to have been ſo ſpoken in effect as they are written, nor then, unleſs worth rehearſal: and to invent ſuch, though eloquently, as ſome hiſtorians have done, is an abuſe of poſterity, raiſing in them that read other conceptions of thoſe times and perſons than were true. Much leſs therefore do I purpoſe here or elſewhere to copy out tedious orations without decorum, though in their authors compoſed ready to my hand. Hitherto what we have heard of Caſſibelan, Togadumnus, Venuſius, and Caractacus, hath been full of magnanimity, ſoberneſs, and martial ſkill: but the truth is, that in this battle and whole buſineſs the Britons never more plainly manifeſted themſelves to be right Barbarians; no rule, no foreſight, no forecaſt, experience or eſtimation, either of themſelves or of their enemies; ſuch confuſion, ſuch impotence, as ſeemed likeſt not to a war, but to the wild hurry of a diſtracted woman, with as mad a crew at her heels. Therefore Suetonius, contemning their unruly noiſes and fierce looks, heartens his men but to ſtand cloſe a while, and ſtrike manfully this headleſs rabble that ſtood neareſt, the reſt would be a purchaſe rather than a toil And ſo it fell out; for the legion, when they ſaw their time, burſting out like a violent wedge, quickly broke and diſſipated what oppoſed them; all elſe only held out their necks to the ſlayer; for their own carts and waggons were ſo placed by themſelves, as left them but little room to eſcape between. The Roman

* Dion.

ſlew all; men, women, and the very drawing horſes lay heaped along the field in a gory mixture of ſlaughter. About fourſcore thouſand Britons are ſaid to have been ſlain on the place; of the enemy ſcarce four hundred, and not many more wounded. Boadicea poiſoned herſelf, or, as others ſay, ſickened and died. * She was of ſtature big and tall, of viſage grim and ſtern, harſh of voice, her hair of a bright colour flowing down to her hips; ſhe wore a plaited garment of divers colours, with a great golden chain; buttoned over all a thick robe. Gildas calls her the crafty lioneſs, and leaves an ill fame upon her doings. Dion ſets down otherwiſe the order of this fight, and that the field was not won without much difficulty, nor without intention of the Britons to give another battle, had not the death of Boadicea come between. Howbeit Suetonius, to preſerve diſcipline, and to diſpatch the reliques of war, lodged with all the army in the open field; which was ſupplied out of Germany with a thouſand horſe and ten thouſand foot; thence diſperſed to winter, and with incurſions to waſte thoſe countries that ſtood out. But to the Britons famine was a worſe affliction; having left off, during this uproar, to till the ground, and made reckoning to ſerve themſelves on the proviſions of their enemy. Nevertheleſs thoſe nations that were yet untamed, hearing of ſome diſcord riſen between Suetonius and the new procurator Claſſicianus, were brought but ſlowly to terms of peace; and the rigour uſed by Suetonius on them that yielded, taught them the better courſe to ſtand on their defence †. For it is certain that Suetonius, though elſe a worthy man, overproud of his victory, gave too much way to his anger againſt the Britons. Claſſician therefore ſending ſuch word to Rome, that theſe ſevere proceedings would beget an endleſs war, Polycletus, no Roman but a courtier, was ſent by Nero to examine how things went. He admoniſhing Suetonius to uſe more mildneſs, awed the army, and to the Britons gave matter of laughter. Who ſo much even till then were nurſed up in their native liberty, as to wonder that ſo great a general with his whole army ſhould be at the rebuke and

* Dion. † Tacit. vit. Agric.

ordering

ordering of a court-ſervitor. But Suetonius a while after, having loſt a few galleys on the ſhore, was bid reſign his command to Petronius Turpilianus, who not provoking the Britons, nor by them provoked, was thought to have pretended the love of peace to what indeed was his love of eaſe and ſloth. Trebellius Maximus followed his ſteps, uſurping the name of gentle government to any remiſſneſs or neglect of diſcipline; which brought in firſt licenſe, next diſobedience into his camp; incenſed againſt him partly for his covetouſneſs, partly by the incitement of Roſcius Cælius, legate of a legion; with whom formerly diſagreeing, now that civil war began in the empire, he fell to open diſcord *; charging him with diſorder and ſedition, and him Cælius with peeling and defrauding the legions of their pay; inſomuch that Trebellius, hated and deſerted of the ſoldiers, was content a while to govern by baſe entreaty, and forced at length to flee the land. Which notwithſtanding remained in good quiet, governed by Cælius and the other legate of a legion, both faithful to Vitellius then emperor; who ſent hither Vectius Bolanus; under whoſe lenity, though not tainted with other fault, againſt the Britons nothing was done, nor in their own diſcipline reformed †. Petilius Cerealis by appointment of Veſpaſian ſucceeding, had to do with the populous Brigantes in many battles, and ſome of thoſe not unbloody. For as we heard before, it § was Venuſius who even to theſe times held them tack, both himſelf remaining to the end unvanquiſhed, and ſome part of his country not ſo much as reached. It appears alſo by ſeveral paſſages in the hiſtories of Tacitus ‖, that no ſmall matter of Britiſh forces were commanded over ſea the year before to ſerve in thoſe bloody wars between Otho and Vitellius, Vitellius and Veſpaſian contending for the empire. To Cerealis ſucceeded Julius Frontinus in the government of Britain **, who by taming the Silures, a people warlike and ſtrongly inhabiting, augmented much his reputation. But Julius Agricola, whom Veſpaſian in his laſt year ſent

* Tac. hiſt. l. 1. & vit. Agric. Anno poſt Chriſt. 69. † Tacit. hiſt. 2. & vit. Agric. § Calviſ. ‖ Tacit. hiſt. 3. & vit Agric. ** Poſt Chriſt. 79.

hither, trained up from his youth in the Britiſh wars, extended with victories the Roman limit beyond all his predeceſſors. His coming was in the midſt of ſummer; and the Ordovices to welcome the new general had hewn in pieces a whole ſquadron of horſe which lay upon their bounds, few eſcaping. Agricola, who perceived that the noiſe of this defeat had alſo in the province deſirous of novelty ſtirred up new expectations, reſolves to be beforehand with the danger: and drawing together the choice of his legions with a competent number of auxiliaries, not being met by the Ordovices, who kept the hills, himſelf at the head of his men, hunts them up and down through difficult places, almoſt to the final extirpating of that whole nation. With the ſame current of ſucceſs, what Paulinus had left unfiniſhed he conquers in the iſle of Mona: for the iſlanders altogether fearleſs of his approach, whom they knew to have no ſhipping, when they ſaw themſelves invaded on a ſudden by the auxiliars, whoſe country-uſe had taught them to ſwim over with horſe and arms, were compelled to yield. This gained Agricola much opinion: who at his very entrance, a time which others beſtowed of courſe in hearing compliments and gratulations, had made ſuch early progreſs into laborious and hardeſt enterpriſes. But by far not ſo famous was Agricola in bringing war to a ſpeedy end, as in cutting off the cauſes from whence war ariſes. For he knowing that the end of war was not to make way for injuries in peace, began reformation from his own houſe; permitted not his attendants and followers to ſway, or have to do at all in public affairs: lays on with equality the proportions of corn and tribute that were impoſed; takes off exactions, and the fees of encroaching officers, heavier than the tribute itſelf. For the countries had been compelled before, to ſit and wait the opening of public granaries, and both to ſell and to buy their corn at what rate the publicans thought fit; the purveyors alſo commanding when they pleaſed to bring it in, not to the neareſt, but ſtill to the remoteſt places, either by the compounding of ſuch as would be excuſed, or by cauſing a dearth, where none was, made a particular gain. Theſe grievances and the like, he in

the time of peace removing, brought peace into ſome credit; which before, ſince the Romans coming, had as ill a name as war. The ſummer following, Titus then emperor *, he ſo continually with inroads diſquieted the enemy over all the iſle, and after terrour ſo allured them with his gentle demeanour, that many cities which till that time would not bend, gave hoſtages, admitted garriſons, and came in voluntarily. The winter he ſpent all in worthy actions; teaching and promoting like a public father the inſtitutes and cuſtoms of civil life. The inhabitants rude and ſcattered, and by that the proner to war, he ſo perſuaded to build houſes, temples, and ſeats of juſtice; and by praiſing the forward, quickening the ſlow, aſſiſting all, turned the name of neceſſity into an emulation. He cauſed moreover the noblemen's ſons to be bred up in liberal arts; and by preferring the wits of Britain before the ſtudies of Gallia, brought them to affect the Latin eloquence, who before hated the language. Then were the Roman faſhions imitated, and the gown; after a while the incitements alſo and materials of vice, and voluptuous life, proud buildings, baths, and the elegance of banqueting; which the fooliſher ſort called civility, but was indeed a ſecret art to prepare them for bondage. Spring appearing, he took the field, and with a proſperous expedition waſted as far northward as frith of Taus all that obeyed not, with ſuch a terrour, as he went, that the Roman army, though much hindered by tempeſtuous weather, had the leiſure to build forts and caſtles where they pleaſed, none daring to oppoſe them. Beſides, Agricola had this excellence in him, ſo providently to chooſe his places where to fortify, as not another general then alive. No ſconce or fortreſs of his raiſing was ever known either to have been forced, or yielded up or quitted. Out of theſe impregnable by ſiege, or in that caſe duly relieved, with continual irruptions he ſo prevailed, that the enemy, whoſe manner was in winter to regain what in ſummer he had loſt, was now alike in both ſeaſons kept ſhort and ſtreightened. For theſe exploits, then eſteemed ſo great and honourable, Titus, in whoſe reign they were achieved, was the fif-

* Poſt Chriſt. 80.

teenth

teenth time ſaluted imperator *; and of him Agricola received triumphal honours. The fourth ſummer, Domitian then ruling the empire, he ſpent in ſettling and confirming what the year before he had travelled over with a running conqueſt. And had the valour of his ſoldiers been anſwerable, he had reached that year, as was thought, the utmoſt bounds of Britain. For Glota and Bodotria, now Dunbritton, and the frith of Edinburgh, two oppoſite arms of the ſea, divided only by a neck of land, and all the creeks and inlets on this ſide, were held by the Romans, and the enemy driven as it were into another iſland. In his fifth year † he paſſed over into the Orcades, as we may probably gueſs, and other Scotch iſles; diſcovering and ſubduing nations, till then unknown. He gained alſo with his forces that part of Britain which faces Ireland, as aiming alſo to conquer that iſland; where one of the Iriſh kings driven out by civil wars coming to him, he both gladly received and retained him as againſt a fit time. The ſummer enſuing, on miſtruſt that the nations beyond Bodotria would generally riſe, and forelay the paſſages by land, he cauſed his fleet, making a great ſhow, to bear along the coaſt, and up the friths and harbours; joining moſt commonly at night on the ſame ſhore both land and ſea-forces, with mutual ſhouts and loud greetings. At ſight whereof the Britons, not wont to ſee their ſea ſo ridden, were much daunted. Howbeit the Caledonians § with great preparation, and by rumour, as of things unknown much greater, taking arms, and of their own accord beginning war by the aſſault of ſundry caſtles, ſent back ſome of their fear to the Romans themſelves: and there were of the commanders, who cloaking their fear under ſhow of ſage advice, counſelled the general to retreat back on this ſide Bodotria. He in the mean while having intelligence, that the enemy would fall on in many bodies, divided alſo his army into three parts. Which advantage the Britons quickly ſpying, and on a ſudden uniting what before they had disjoined, aſſail by night with all their forces that part of the Roman army

* Dion. l. 66. Poſt Chriſt. 82. † Poſt Chriſt. 83. § Poſt Chriſt. 84.

which

which they knew to be the weakeſt; and breaking in upon the camp, ſurpriſed between ſleep and fear, had begun ſome execution. When Agricola, who had learnt what way the enemies took, and followed them with all ſpeed, ſending before him the lighteſt of his horſe, and foot to charge them behind, the reſt as they came on to affright them with clamour, ſo plied them without reſpite, that by approach of day the Roman enſigns glittering all about, had encompaſſed the Britons: who now after a ſharp fight in the very ports of the camp, betook them to their wonted refuge, the woods and fens, purſued a while by the Romans; that day elſe in all appearance had ended the war. The legions reincouraged by this event, they alſo now boaſting, who but lately trembled, cry all to be led on as far as there was Britiſh ground. The Britons alſo not acknowledging the loſs of that day to Roman valour, but to the policy of their captain, abated nothing of their ſtoutneſs; but arming their youth, conveying their wives and children to places of ſafety, in frequent aſſemblies, and by ſolemn covenants bound themſelves to mutual aſſiſtance againſt the common enemy. About the ſame time a cohort of Germans having ſlain their centurion with other Roman officers in a mutiny, and for fear of puniſhment fled on ſhipboard, launched forth in three light galleys without pilot*; and by tide or weather carried round about the coaſt, uſing piracy where they landed, while their ſhips held out, and as their ſkill ſerved them, with various fortune, were the firſt diſcoverers to the Romans that Britain was an iſland. † The following ſummer, Agricola having before ſent his navy to hover on the coaſt, and with ſundry and uncertain landings to divert and diſunite the Britons, himſelf with a power beſt appointed for expedition, wherein alſo were many Britons, whom he had long tried both valiant and faithful, marches onward to the mountain Grampius, where the Britiſh, above thirty thouſand, were now lodged, and ſtill increaſing; for neither would their old men, ſo many as were yet vigorous and luſty, be left at home, long practiſed in war, and every one adorned with ſome badge, or cogni-

* Dion. l. 66. † Poſt Chriſt. 85.

zance

zance of his warlike deeds long ago. Of whom Galgacus, both by birth and merit the prime leader to their courage, though of itſelf hot and violent, is by his rough oratory, in deteſtation of ſervitude and the Roman yoke, ſaid to have added much more eagerneſs of fight, teſtified by their ſhouts and barbarous applauſes. As much did on the other ſide Agricola exhort his ſoldiers to victory and glory; as much the ſoldiers by his firm and well-grounded exhortations were all on a fire to the onſet. But firſt he orders them on this ſort: Of eight thouſand auxiliary foot he makes his middle ward, on the wings three thouſand horſe, the legions as a reſerve, ſtood in array before the camp; either to ſeize the victory won without their own hazard, or to keep up the battle if it ſhould need. The Britiſh powers on the hill ſide, as might beſt ſerve for ſhow and terrour, ſtood in their battalions; the firſt on even ground, the next riſing behind, as the hill aſcended. The field between rung with the noiſe of horſemen and chariots ranging up and down. Agricola doubting to be overwinged, ſtretches out his front, though ſomewhat with the thinneſt, inſomuch that many adviſed to bring up the legions: yet he not altering, alights from his horſe, and ſtands on foot before the enſigns. The fight began aloof, and the Britons had a certain ſkill with their broad ſwaſhing ſwords and ſhort bucklers either to ſtrike aſide, or to bear off the darts of their enemy; and withal to ſend back ſhowers of their own. Until Agricola diſcerning that thoſe little targets and unwieldy glaves ill pointed, would ſoon become ridiculous againſt the thruſt and cloſe, commanded three Batavian cohorts, and two of the Tungrians exerciſed and armed for cloſe fight, to draw up, and come to handy ſtrokes. The Batavians, as they were commanded, running in upon them, now with their long tucks thruſting at the face, now with their piked targets bearing them down, had made good riddance of them that ſtood below; and for haſte omitting further execution, began apace to advance up hill, ſeconded now by all the other cohorts. Mean while the horſemen flee, the charioteers mix themſelves to fight among the foot, where many of their horſe alſo fallen in diſorderly, were now more a miſchief

miſchief to their own, than before a terrour to their enemies. The battle was a confuſed heap, the ground unequal; men, horſes, chariots crowded pellmell; ſometimes in little room, by and by in large, fighting, ruſhing, felling, overbearing, overturning. They on the hill, which were not yet come to blows, perceiving the fewneſs of their enemies, came down amain; and had encloſed the Romans unawares behind, but that Agricola with a ſtrong body of horſe, which he reſerved for ſuch a purpoſe, repelled them back as faſt; and others drawn off the front, were commanded to wheel about and charge them on the backs. Then were the Romans clearly maſters; they follow, they wound, they take, and to take more, kill whom they take: the Britons, in whole troops with weapons in their hands one while fleeing the purſuer, anon without weapons deſperately running upon the ſlayer. But all of them, when once they got the woods to their ſhelter, with freſh boldneſs made head again, and the forwardeſt on a ſudden they turned and flew, the reſt ſo hampered, as had not Agricola, who was every where at hand, ſent out his readieſt cohorts, with a part of his horſe to alight and ſcour the woods, they had received a foil in the midſt of victory; but following with a cloſe and orderly purſuit, the Britons fled again, and were totally ſcattered; till night and wearineſs ended the chaſe. And of them that day ten thouſand fell; of the Romans three hundred and forty, among whom Aulus Atticus the leader of a cohort; carried with heat of youth, and the fierceneſs of his horſe too far on. The Romans jocund of this victory, and the ſpoil they got, ſpent the night; the vanquiſhed wandering about the field, both men and women, ſome lamenting, ſome calling their loſt friends, or carrying off their wounded; others forſaking, ſome burning their own houſes; and it was certain enough, that there were who with a ſtern compaſſion laid violent hands on their wives and children, to prevent the more violent hands of hoſtile injury. Next day appearing, manifeſted more plainly the greatneſs of their loſs received; every where ſilence, deſolation, houſes burning afar off, not a man ſeen, all fled, and doubtful whither: ſuch word the ſcouts bringing in from all parts,

and

and the ſummer now ſpent, no fit ſeaſon to diſperſe a war, the Roman general leads his army among the Horeſtians; by whom hoſtages being given, he commands his admiral with a ſufficient navy to ſail round the coaſt of Britain; himſelf with ſlow marches, that his delay in paſſing might ſerve to awe thoſe new conquered nations, beſtows his army in their winter-quarters. The fleet alſo having fetched a proſperous and ſpeedy compaſs about the iſle, put in at the haven Trutulenſis, now Richburgh near Sandwich, from whence it firſt ſet out *: and now likelieſt, if not two years before, as was mentioned, the Romans might diſcover and ſubdue the iſles of Orkney; which others with leſs reaſon, following † Euſebius and Oroſius, attribute to the deeds of Claudius. Theſe perpetual exploits abroad won him wide fame: with Domitian, under whom great virtue was as puniſhable as open crime, won him hatred §. For he maligning the renown of theſe his acts, in ſhow decreed him honours, in ſecret deviſed his ruin. ‖ Agricola therefore commanded home for doing too much of what he was ſent to do, left the province to his ſucceſſor quiet and ſecure. Whether he, as is conjectured, were Saluſtius Lucullus, or before him ſome other, for Suetonius only names him legate of Britain under Domitian; but further of him, or aught elſe done here until the time of Hadrian, is no where plainly to be found. Some gather by a preface in Tacitus to the book of his hiſtories, that what Agricola won here, was ſoon after by Domitian either through want of valour loſt, or through envy neglected. And Juvenal the poet ſpeaks of Arviragus in theſe days, and not before, king of Britain; who ſtood ſo well in his reſiſtance, as not only to be talked of at Rome, but to be held matter of a glorious triumph, if Domitian could take him captive, or overcome him. Then alſo Claudia Rufina the daughter of a Briton, and wife of Pudence a Roman ſenator, lived at Rome famous by the verſe of Martial for beauty, wit, and learning. The next we hear of Britain, is, that when Trajan was emperor, it revolted, and was ſubdued.

* Camden. Juven. ſat. 2. † Eutrop. l. 7. § Dion. l. 66. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 86.

But

But Hadrian next entering on the empire*, they ſoon unſubdued themſelves. Julius Severus, ſaith Dion, then governed the iſland, a prime ſoldier of that age: he being called away to ſuppreſs the Jews then in tumult left things at ſuch a paſs, as cauſed the emperor in perſon to take a journey hither †; where many things he reformed, and, as Auguſtus and Tiberius counſelled, to gird the empire within moderate bounds, he raiſed a wall with great ſtakes driven in deep, and faſtened together, in manner of a ſtrong mound, fourſcore mile in length, to divide what was Roman from Barbarian; as his manner was to do in other frontiers of his empire, where great rivers divided not the limits. No ancient author names the place, but old inſcriptions, and the ruin itſelf yet teſtifies where it went along between Solway frith by Carliſle, and the mouth of Tine §. Hadrian having quieted the iſland, took it for honour to be titled on his coin, "The reſtorer of Britain." In his time alſo Priſcus Licinius, as appears by an old inſcription, was lieutenant here. Antonius Pius reigning ‖, the Brigantes ever leaſt patient of foreign ſervitude, breaking in upon Genounia (which Camden gueſſes to be Guinethia or North Wales) part of the Roman province, were with the loſs of much territory driven back by Lollius Urbicus, who drew another wall of turves; in likelihood much beyond the former, and as Camden proves, between the frith of Dunbritton, and of Edinburgh; to hedge out incurſions from the north. And Seius Saturninus, as is collected from the digeſts**, had charge here of the Roman navy. With like ſucceſs did Marcus Aurelius ††, next emperor, by his legate Calphurnius Agricola, finiſh here a new war: Commodus after him obtaining the empire. In his time, as among ſo many different accounts may ſeem moſt probable, §§ Lucius a ſuppoſed king in ſome part of Britain, the firſt of any king in Europe, that we read of, received the Chriſtian faith, and this nation the firſt by public authority profeſſed it: a high and ſingular grace from above, if ſincerity and perſeverance

* Spartianus in vit. Hadrian. † Poſt Chriſt. 122. Spartianus ibid.
§ Camden. ‖ Pauſan. archad. ** Cap. vit. Ant. Poſt Chriſt. 144.
†† Poſt Chriſt. 162. Digeſt. l. 36. §§ Beda.

w.: t

went along, otherwiſe an empty boaſt, and to be feared the verifying of that true ſentence, "The firſt ſhall be "laſt." And indeed the praiſe of this action is more proper to king Lucius, than common to the nation; whoſe firſt profeſſing by public authority was no real commendation of their true faith, which had appeared more ſincere and praiſe-worthy, whether in this or other nation, firſt profeſſed without public authority or againſt it, might elſe have been but outward conformity. Lucius in our Monmouth ſtory is made the ſecond by deſcent from Marius; Marius the ſon of Arviragus is there ſaid to have overthrown the Picts then firſt coming out of Scythia, ſlain Roderic their king; and in ſign of victory to have ſet up a monument of ſtone in the country ſince called Weſtmaria; but theſe things have no foundation. Coilus the ſon of Marius, all his reign, which was juſt and peaceable, holding great amity with the Romans, left it hereditary to Lucius. He (if Beda err not, living near five hundred years after, yet our ancienteſt author of this report) ſent to Elutherius, then biſhop of Rome *, an improbable letter, as ſome of the contents diſcover, deſiring that by his appointment he and his people might receive chriſtianity. From whom two religious doctors, named in our chronicles Faganus and Deruvianus, forthwith ſent, are ſaid to have converted and baptized well nigh the whole nation †: thence Lucius to have had the ſurname of Levermaur, that is to ſay, great light. Nor yet then firſt was the Chriſtian faith here known, but even from the latter days of Tiberius, as Gildas confidently affirms, taught and propagated, and that as ſome ſay by Simon Zelotes, as others by Joſeph of Arimathea, Barnabas, Paul, Peter, and their prime diſciples. But of theſe matters, variouſly written and believed, eccleſiaſtic hiſtorians can beſt determine; as the beſt of them do, with little credit given to the particulars of ſuch uncertain relations. As for Lucius, they write §, that after a long reign he was buried in Gloceſter; but dying without iſſue, left the kingdom in great commotion. By truer teſtimony ‖ we find that the greateſt war which in thoſe days buſied Commodus,

* Poſt Chriſt. 181. † Nennius. § Geff. Mon. ‖ Dion. l. 72.

was

was in this iſland. For the nations northward, notwithſtanding the wall raiſed to keep them out, breaking in upon the Roman province, waſted wide; and both the army and the leader that came againſt them wholly routed, and deſtroyed; which put the emperor in ſuch a fear, as to diſpatch hither one of his beſt commanders, Ulpius Marcellus *. He a man endowed with all nobleneſs of mind, frugal and temperate, mild and magnanimous, in war bold and watchful, invincible againſt lucre, and the aſſault of bribes; what with his valour, and theſe his other virtues, quickly ended this war that looked ſo dangerous, and had himſelf like to have been ended by the peace which he brought home, for preſuming to be ſo worthy and ſo good under the envy of ſo worthleſs and ſo bad an emperor. † After whoſe departure the Roman legions fell to ſedition among themſelves; fifteen hundred of them went to Rome in name of the reſt, and were ſo terrible to Commodus himſelf, as that to pleaſe them he delivered up to their care Perennis the captain of his guard, for having in the Britiſh war removed their leaders, who were ſenators, and in their places put thoſe of the equeſtrian order. Notwithſtanding which compliance, they endeavoured here to ſet up another emperor againſt him; and Helvius Pertinax ‡, who ſucceeded governour, found it a work ſo difficult to appeaſe them, that once in a mutiny he was left for dead among many ſlain; and though afterwards he ſeverely puniſhed the tumulters, was fain at length to ſeek a diſmiſſion from his charge. After him Clodius Albinus § took the government; but he, for having to the ſoldiers made an oration againſt monarchy, by the appointment of Commodus was bid reſign to Junius Severus ‖. But Albinus in thoſe troubleſome times enſuing under the ſhort reign of Pertinax and Didius Julianus ¶, found means to keep in his hands the government of Britain; although Septimius Severus **, who next held the empire, ſent hither Heraclitus to diſplace him; but in vain, for Albinus with

* Poſt Chriſt. 183. † Lamprid. in comm. Poſt Chriſt. 186.
‡ Capitolin. in Pert. § Capitolin. in Alb. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 193.
¶ Dion Did. Jul. ** Spartian. in Sever.

all the Britiſh powers and thoſe of Gallia met Severus about Lyons in France *, and fought a bloody battle with him for the empire, though at laſt vanquiſhed and ſlain. The government of Britain † Severus divided between two deputies; till then one legate was thought ſufficient; the north he committed to Virius Lupus. ‡ Where the Meatæ riſing in arms, and the Caledonians, though they had promiſed the contrary to Lupus §, preparing to defend them, ſo hard beſet, he was compelled to buy his peace, and a few priſoners with great ſums of money. But hearing that Severus had now brought to an end his other wars, he writes him plainly the ſtate of things here ‖, "the Britons of the north made war upon him, broke into the province, and haraſſed all the countries nigh them, that there needed ſuddenly either more aid, or himſelf in perſon." Severus, though now much weakened with age and the gout, yet deſirous to leave ſome memorial of his warlike achievements here, as he had done in other places, and beſides to withdraw by this means his two ſons from the pleaſures of Rome, and his ſoldiers from idleneſs, with a mighty power, far ſooner than could be expected, arrives in Britain. ¶ The northern people much daunted with the report of ſo great forces brought over with him, and yet more preparing, ſend embaſſadors to treat of peace, and to excuſe their former doings. The emperor now loth to return home without ſome memorable thing done, whereby he might aſſume to his other titles the addition of Britannicus, delays his anſwer, and quickens his preparations; till in the end, when all things were in readineſs to follow them, they are diſmiſſed without effect. His principal care was to have many bridges laid over bogs and rotten moors, that his ſoldiers might have to fight on ſure footing. For it ſeems through lack of tillage, the northern parts were then, as Ireland is at this day; and the inhabitants in like manner wanted to retire, and defend themſelves in ſuch watery places half naked. He alſo being paſt Adrian's wall **, cut down

* Herod. l. 3. † Ibid. ‡ Digeſt, l. 28. tit. 6. § Dion. ‖ Herod. l. 3. ¶ Poſt Chriſt. 208. ** Poſt Chriſt. 209.

woods,

woods, made ways through hills, faſtened and filled up unſound and plaſhy fens. Notwithſtanding all this induſtry uſed, the enemy kept himſelf ſo cunningly within his beſt advantages, and ſeldom appearing, ſo opportunely found his times to make irruption upon the Romans, when they were moſt in ſtraits and difficulties, ſometimes training them on with a few cattle turned out, and drawn within ambuſh cruelly handling them, that many a time encloſed in the midſt of ſloughs and quagmires, they choſe rather themſelves to kill ſuch as were faint and could not ſhift away, than leave them there a prey to the Caledonians *. Thus loſt Severus, and by ſickneſs in thoſe noiſome places, no leſs than fifty thouſand men: and yet deſiſted not, though for weakneſs carried in a litter, till he had marched through with his army to the utmoſt northern verge of the iſle: and the Britons offering peace, were compelled to loſe much of their country not before ſubject to the Romans †. Severus on the frontiers of what he had firmly conquered, builds a wall croſs the iſland from ſea to ſea; which one author judges the moſt magnificent of all his other deeds; and that he thence received the ſtyle of Britannicus §; in length a hundred and thirty two miles. Oroſius adds it fortified with a deep trench, and between certain ſpaces many towers, or battlements. The place whereof ſome will have to be in Scotland, the ſame which Lollius Urbicus had walled before. || Others affirm it only Hadrian's work reedified; both plead authorities and the ancient track yet viſible: but this I leave among the ſtudious of theſe antiquities to be diſcuſſed more at large. While peace held, the empreſs Julia meeting on a time certain Britiſh ladies, and diſcourſing with the wife of Argentocoxus a Caledonian, caſt out a ſcoff againſt the looſeneſs of our iſland women; whoſe manner then was to uſe promiſcuouſly the company of divers men. Whom ſtraight the Britiſh woman boldly thus anſwered: "Much better do we Britons fulfil the work of nature than you Romans; we with the beſt men accuſtom openly; you with the baſeſt commit private adulteries."

* Dion. † Poſt Chriſt. 210. Spartianus in Sever. § Eutropii Pean. Oroſ. l. 7. Caſſid. Chro. || Buchanan.

Whether ſhe thought this anſwer might ſerve to juſtfy the practice of her country, as when vices are compared, the greater ſeems to juſtify the leſs; or whether the law and cuſtom wherein ſhe was bred, had whipped out of her conſcience the better dictate of nature, and not convinced her of the ſhame; certain it is, that whereas other nations uſed a liberty not unnatural for one man to have many wives, the Britons * altogether as licentious, but more abſurd and prepoſterous in their licenſe, had one or many wives in common among ten or twelve huſbands; and thoſe for the moſt part inceſtuouſly. But no ſooner was Severus returned into the province, than the Britons take arms again. Againſt whom Severus, worn out with labours and infirmity, ſends Antoninus his eldeſt ſon, expreſsly commanding him to ſpare neither ſex nor age. But Antoninus, who had his wicked thoughts taken up with the contriving of his father's death, a ſafer enemy than a ſon, did the Britons not much detriment. Whereat Severus, more overcome with grief than any other malady, ended his life at York †. After whoſe deceaſe Antoninus Caracalla his impious ſon, concluding peace with the Britons, took hoſtages and departed to Rome. The conductor of all this northern war Scottiſh writers name Donaldus, he of Monmouth Fulgenius, in the reſt of his relation nothing worth. From hence the Roman empire declining apace, good hiſtorians growing ſcarce, or loſt, have left us little elſe but fragments for many years enſuing. Under Gordian the emperor we find, by the inſcription ‡ of an altar-ſtone, that Nonius Philippus governed here. Under Galienus we read there was a ſtrong and general revolt from the Roman legate. Of the thirty tyrants which not long after took upon them the ſtyle of emperor §, by many coins found among us, Lollianus, Victorinus, Poſthumus, the Tetrici, and Marius are conjectured to have riſen or born great ſway in this iſland ‖. Whence Porphyrius, a philoſopher then living, ſaid that Britain was a ſoil fruitful of tyrants; and is noted to be the firſt

* Cæſar. † Poſt Chriſt. 211. Spartianus in Sever. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 242. Camd. Cumber. § Poſt Chriſt. 259. Eumen. Paneg. Conſt. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 267. Camden. Gildas. Hieronym.

author

author that makes mention of the Scottiſh nation. While Probus was emperor *, Bonoſus the ſon of a rhetorician, bred up a Spaniard, though by deſcent a Briton, and a matchleſs drinker; nor much to be blamed, if, as they write, he were ſtill wiſeſt in his cups; having attained in warfare to high honours, and laſtly in his charge over the German ſhipping, willingly, as was thought, miſcarried, truſting on his power with the weſtern armies, and joined with Proculus, bore himſelf a while for emperor; but after a long and bloody fight at Cullen, vanquiſhed by Probus, he hanged himſelf, and gave occaſion of a ready jeſt made on him for his much drinking: "Here hangs a tankard, not a man." After this †, Probus with much wiſdom prevented a new riſing here in Britain by the ſevere loyalty of Victorinus a Moor, at whoſe entreaty he had placed here that governour which rebelled. For the emperor upbraiding him with the diſloyalty of whom he had commended, Victorinus undertaking to ſet all right again, haſtes thither, and finding indeed the governour to intend ſedition, by ſome contrivance not mentioned in the ſtory, ſlew him, whoſe name ‡ ſome imagine to be Cornelius Lelianus. They write alſo that Probus gave leave to the Spaniards, Gauls, and Britons to plant vines, and to make wine; and having ſubdued the Vandals and Burgundians in a great battle §, ſent over many of them hither to inhabit, where they did good ſervice to the Romans, when any inſurrection happened in the iſle. After whom Carus emperor going againſt the Perſians, left Carinus || one of his ſons to govern among other weſtern provinces this iſland with imperial authority; but him Diocleſian, ſaluted emperor by the eaſtern arms, overcame and ſlew. About which time Carauſius ¶, a man of low parentage, born in Menapia, about the parts of Cleves and Juliers, who through all military degrees was made at length admiral of the Belgic and Armoric ſeas, then much infeſted by the Franks and Saxons, what he took from the pirates, neither reſtoring to the owners

* Poſt Chriſt 282. Vopiſc. in Bonoſ. † Zozim. l. 1. ‡ Camd. § Zozimus. || Poſt Chriſt. 283. Vopiſc. in Carin. ¶ Poſt Chriſt. 284. Aurel. Victor. de Cæſar.

nor accounting to the public, but enriching himſelf, and yet not ſcouring the ſeas, but conniving rather at thoſe ſea robbers, was grown at length too great a delinquent to be leſs than an emperor*; for fear and guiltineſs in thoſe days made emperors oftener than merit: and underſtanding that Maximianus Herculius †, Diocleſian's adopted ſon, was come againſt him into Gallia, paſſed over with the navy, which he had made his own, into Britain, and poſſeſſed the iſland. Where he built a new ‡ fleet after the Roman faſhion, got into his power the legion that was left here in garriſon, other outlandiſh cohorts detained, liſted the very merchants and factors of Gallia, and with the allurement of ſpoil invited great numbers of other barbarous nations to his part, and trained them to ſea ſervice, wherein the Romans at that time were grown ſo out of ſkill, that Carauſius with his navy did at ſea what he liſted, robbing on every coaſt; whereby Maximilian, able to come no nearer than the ſhore of Boloigne, was forced to conclude a peace with Carauſius, and yield him Britain §; as one fitteſt to guard the province there againſt inroads from the North. But not long after || having aſſumed Conſtantius Chlorus to the dignity of Cæſar, ſent him againſt Carauſius; who in the mean while had made himſelf ſtrong both within the land and without ¶. Galfred of Monmouth writes, that he made the Picts his confederates; to whom, lately come out of Scythia, he gave Albany to dwell in: and it is obſerved, that before his time the Picts are not known to have been any where mentioned, and then firſt by Eumenius a rhetorician **. He repaired and fortified the wall of Severus with ſeven caſtles, and a round houſe of ſmooth ſtone on the bank of Carron, which river, ſaith Ninnius, was of his name ſo called; he built alſo a triumphal arch in remembrance of ſome victory there obtained |||. In France he held Geſſoriacum, or Boloigne; and all the Franks, which had by his permiſſion ſeated themſelves in Belgia, were at his devotion. But Conſtantius haſting into Gallia, beſieges

* Poſt Chriſt. 285. Eutrop. Oroſ. † Eumen. Paneg. 2. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 286. § Victor. Eutrop. || Poſt Chriſt. 291. ¶ Buchanan. ** Paneg. 2. ||| Paneg. Sigonius.

Boloigne, and with ſtones and timber obſtructing the port, keeps out all relief that could be ſent in by Carauſius. Who ere Conſtantius, with the great fleet which he had prepared, could arrive hither, was ſlain treacherouſly * by Alectus one of his friends, who longed to ſtep into his place; when he ſeven years, and worthily as ſome ſay, as others tyrannically, had ruled the iſland. So much the more did Conſtantius proſecute that opportunity, before Alectus could well ſtrengthen his affairs §: and though in ill weather, putting to ſea with all urgency from ſeveral havens to ſpread the terrour of his landing, and the doubt where to expect him, in a miſt paſſing the Britiſh fleet unſeen, that lay ſcouting near the iſle of Wight, no ſooner got aſhore, but fires his own ſhips, to leave no hope of refuge but in victory. Alectus alſo, though now much diſmayed, transfers his fortune to a battle on the ſhore; but encountered by Aſclepiodotus, captain of the prætorian bands, and deſperately ruſhing on, unmindful both of ordering his men, or bringing them all to fight, ſave the acceſſories of his treaſon, and his outlandiſh hirelings, is overthrown, and ſlain with little or no loſs to the Romans, but great execution on the Franks. His body was found almoſt naked in the field, for his purple robe he had thrown aſide, leſt it ſhould deſcry him, unwilling to be found. The reſt taking flight to London, and purpoſing with the pillage of that city to eſcape by ſea, are met by another part of the Roman army, whom the miſt at ſea disjoining had by chance brought thither, and with a new ſlaughter chaſed through all the ſtreets. The Britons, their wives alſo and children, with great joy got out to meet Conſtantius, as one whom they acknowledge their deliverer from bondage and inſolence. All this ſeems by Eumenius ‡, who then lived, and was of Conſtantius's houſhold, to have been done in the courſe of one continued action; ſo alſo thinks Sigonius, a learned writer: though all others allow three years to the tyranny of Alectus. In theſe days were great ſtore of workmen, and excellent builders in this iſland, whom,

* Poſt Chriſt. 292. § Camd. ex Nin. Eumen. Pan. 3. Oroſ. l. 7. c. 25.
‡ Eumen.

after the alteration of things here, the Æduans in Burgundy entertained to build their temples, and public edifices. Diocleſian having hitherto ſucceſsfully uſed his valour againſt the enemies of his empire, uſes now his rage in a bloody perſecution againſt his obedient and harmleſs Chriſtian ſubjects: from the feeling whereof neither was this iſland, though moſt remote, far enough removed *. Among them here who ſuffered glorioufly, Aron, and Julius of Caerleon upon Uſk, but chiefly Alban of Verulam, were moſt renowned; the ſtory of whoſe martyrdom ſoiled, and worſe martyred with the fabling zeal of ſome idle fancies, more fond of miracles, than apprehenſive of truth, deſerves not longer digreſſion. Conſtantius, after Diocleſian, dividing the empire with Galerius, had Britain among his other provinces; where either preparing or returning with a victory from an expedition againſt the Caledonians, he died at York †. His ſon Conſtantine, who happily came poſt from Rome to Boloigne, juſt about the time, ſaith Eumenius, that his father was ſetting ſail his laſt time hither, and not long before his death, was by him on his deathbed named, and after his funeral, by the whole army ſaluted emperor. There goes a fame, and that ſeconded by moſt of our own hiſtorians, though not thoſe the ancienteſt, that Conſtantine was born in this iſland, his mother Helena the daughter of Coilus a Britiſh prince, not ſure the father of king Lucius, whoſe ſiſter ſhe muſt then be, for that would detect her too old by a hundred years to be the mother of Conſtantine. But to ſalve this incoherence, another Coilus is feigned to be then earl of Colcheſter. To this therefore the Roman authors give no teſtimony, except a paſſage or two in the Panegyrics, about the ſenſe whereof much is argued: others ‡ neareſt to thoſe times clear the doubt, and write him certainly born of a mean woman, Helena, the concubine of Conſtantius, at Naiſus in Dardania. § Howbeit, ere his departure hence, he ſeems to have had ſome bickerings in the North, which by reaſon of more urgent affairs com-

* Gildas. † Author. ign. poſt Marcellin. Valeſii. Poſt Chriſt. 306. Eutrop. Eumen. idem. Auth. ignot. ‡ Idem vit. Auth. ignot. Euſeb. Conſt. Oroſ. l. 7. 25 cap. Caſſ. Chron. § Poſt Chriſt. 307. Sigon.

poſed,

poſed, he paſſes into Gallia; and after four years returns either to ſettle or to alter the ſtate of things here, until a new war againſt Maxentius called him back, leaving Pacatianus his vicegerent. * He deceaſing, Conſtantine his eldeſt ſon enjoyed for his part of the empire, with all the provinces that lay on this ſide the Alps, this iſland alſo. † But falling to civil war with Conſtans his brother, was by him ſlain; who with his third brother Conſtantius coming into Britain, ſeized it as victor. Againſt him roſe Magnentius ‡, one of his chief commanders, by ſome affirmed the ſon of a Briton, he having gained on his ſide great forces, conteſted with Conſtantius in many battles for the ſole empire; but vanquiſhed, in the end ſlew himſelf. § Somewhat before this time Gratianus Funarius, the father of Valentinian, afterwards emperor, had chief command of thoſe armies which the Romans kept here. ‖ And the Arian doctrine which then divided Chriſtendom, wrought alſo in this iſland no ſmall diſturbance; a land, ſaith Gildas, greedy of every thing new, ſtedfaſt in nothing. At laſt ** Conſtantius appointed a ſynod of more than four hundred biſhops to aſſemble at Ariminum on the emperor's charges, which the reſt all refuſing, three only of the Britiſh, poverty conſtraining them, accepted; though the other biſhops among them offered to have born their charges; eſteeming it more honourable to live on the public, than to be obnoxious to any private purſe. Doubtleſs an ingenuous mind, and far above the preſbyters of our age; who like well to ſit in aſſembly on the public ſtipend, but liked not the poverty that cauſed theſe to do ſo. After this Martinus was deputy of the province; who being offended with the cruelty which Paulus, an inquiſitor ſent from Conſtantius, exerciſed in his inquiry after thoſe military officers who had conſpired with Magnentius, was himſelf laid hold on as an acceſſory: at which enraged he runs at Paulus with his drawn ſword; but failing to kill him, turns it on him-

* Poſt Chriſt. 311. Camd. Ammian. l. 20. & in cum Valeſius. † Poſt Chriſt. 340. Libanius in Baſilico. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 343. Camb. ex Firmico. § Poſt Chriſt. 350. Camden. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 353. Ammian. ** Poſt Chriſt. 359.

ſelf.

ſelf. Next to whom, as may be gueſſed, Alipius was made deputy. In the mean time Julian *, whom Conſtantius had made Cæſar, having recovered much territory about the Rhine, where the German inrodes before had long inſulted, to relieve thoſe countries almoſt ruined, cauſes eight hundred pinnaces to be built; and with them, by frequent voyages, plenty of corn to be fetched in from Britain; which even then was the uſual bounty of this ſoil to thoſe parts, as oft as French and Saxon pirates hindered not the tranſportation †. While ‡ Conſtantius yet reigned, the Scots and Picts breaking in upon the Northern confines, Julian, being at Paris, ſends over Lupicinus, a well-tried ſoldier, but a proud and covetous man, who with a power of light-armed Herulians, Batavians, and Mæſians, in the midſt of winter ſailing from Boloigne, arrives at Rutupiæ, ſeated on the oppoſite ſhore, and comes to London, to conſult there about the war; but ſoon after was recalled by Julian, then choſen emperor. Under whom we read not of aught happening here, only that Palladius, one of his great officers, was hither baniſhed. § This year Valentinian being emperor, the Atticots, Picts, and Scots, roving up and down, and laſt the Saxons with perpetual landings and invaſions harried the South coaſt of Britain; ſlew Nectaridius who governed the ſea borders, and Bulchobaudes with his forces by an ambuſh. With which news Valentinian not a little perplexed, ſends firſt Severus high ſteward of his houſe, and ſoon recals him; then Jovinus, who intimating the neceſſity of greater ſupplies, he ſends at length Theodoſius, a man of tried valour and experience, father to the firſt emperor of that name. He ‖ with ſelected numbers out of the legions, and cohorts, croſſes the ſea from Boloigne to Rutupiæ; from whence with the Batavians, Herulians, and other legions that arrived ſoon after, he marches to London; and dividing his forces into ſeveral bodies, ſets upon the diſperſed and plundering enemy, laden with ſpoil; from whom recovering the booty which they led away,

* Liban. Or. 10. Zozim. l. 3. Marcel. l. 18. † Amm. l. 23.
‡ Poſt Chriſt. 360. Amm. l. 20. § Poſt Chriſt. 364. Amm. l. 26, 27.
‖ Poſt Chriſt. 367.

and

and were forced to leave there with their lives, he reſtores all to the right owners, ſave a ſmall portion to his wearied ſoldiers, and enters London victoriouſly; which, before in many ſtraits and difficulties, was now revived as with a great deliverance. The numerous enemy with whom he had to deal, was of different nations, and the war ſcattered: which Theodoſius, getting daily ſome intelligence from fugitives and priſoners, reſolves to carry on by ſudden parties and ſurpriſals, rather than ſet battles; nor omits he to proclaim indemnity to ſuch as would lay down arms, and accept of peace, which brought in many. Yet all this not ending the work, he requires that Civilis, a man of much uprightneſs, might be ſent him, to be as deputy of the iſland, and Dulcitius a famous captain. Thus was Theodoſius buſied, beſetting with ambuſhes the roving enemy, repreſſing his roads, reſtoring cities and caſtles to their former ſafety and defence, laying every where the firm foundation of a long peace, when * Valentinus a Pannonian, for ſome great offence baniſhed into Britain, conſpiring with certain exiles and ſoldiers againſt Theodoſius, whoſe worth he dreaded as the only obſtacle to his greater deſign of gaining the iſle into his power, is diſcovered, and with his chief accomplices delivered over to condign puniſhment: againſt the reſt, Theodoſius with a wiſe lenity ſuffered not inquiſition to proceed too rigorouſly, leſt the fear thereof appertaining to ſo many, occaſion might ariſe of new trouble in a time ſo unſettled. This done, he applies himſelf to reform things out of order, raiſes on the confines many ſtrong-holds; and in them appoints due and diligent watches: and ſo reduced all things out of danger, that the province, which but lately was under command of the enemy, became now wholly Roman, new named Valentia of Valentinian, and the city of London, Auguſta. Thus Theodoſius nobly acquitting himſelf in all affairs, with general applauſe of the whole province, accompained to the ſea-ſide, returns to Valentinian. Who about five years after ſent hither Fraomarius, a king of the Almans †, with

* Poſt Chriſt. 368. Amm. l. 28. Zozim. l. 4. † Poſt Chriſt. 373. Amm. l. 29.

authority

authority of a tribune over his own country forces; which then, both for number and good ſervice, were in high eſteem. Againſt Gratian, who ſucceeded in the Weſtern empire, Maximus a Spaniard, and one who had ſerved in the Britiſh wars with younger * Theodoſius, (for he alſo, either with his father, or not long after him, ſeems to have done ſomething in this iſland) and now general of the Roman armies here, either diſcontented that Theodoſius was preferred before him to the empire, or conſtrained by the ſoldiers who hated Gratian, aſſumes the imperial purple †; and having attained victory againſt the Scots and Picts, with the flower and ſtrength of Britain, paſſes into France; there ſlays Gratian, and without much difficulty, the ſpace of ‡ five years, obtains his part of the empire, overthrown at length, and ſlain by Theodoſius. With whom periſhing moſt of his followers, or not returning out of Armorica, which Maximus had given them to poſſeſs, the South of Britain by this means exhauſted of her youth, and what there was of Roman ſoldiers on the confines drawn off, became a prey to ſavage invaſions; § of Scots from the Iriſh ſeas, of Saxons from the German, of Picts from the North. Againſt them, firſt, ‖ Chryſanthus the ſon of Marcian a biſhop, made deputy of Britain by Theodoſius, demeaned himſelf worthily: then Stilicho a man of great power, whom Theodoſius dying left protector of his ſon Honorius, either came in perſon, or ſending over ſufficient aid, repreſſed them, and as it ſeems new fortified the wall againſt them. But that legion being called away, when the Roman armies from all parts haſted to relieve Honorius, ** then beſieged in Aſta of Piemont, by Alaric the Goth, Britain was left expoſed as before, to thoſe barbarous robbers. Leſt any wonder how the Scots came to infeſt Britain from the Iriſh ſea, it muſt be underſtood, that the Scots not many years before had been driven all out of Britain by Maximus ††; and their king Eugenius ſlain in fight, as their

* Zozim. l. 4. Sigon. † Proſ. Aquitanic. Chron. Poſt Chriſt. 383. ‡ Gildas. Poſt Chriſt. 388. Beda. Ninn. § Poſt Chriſt. 389. ‖ Socrat. l. 7. Claudian de laud. Stil. l. 2. & de Bello Get. ** Poſt Chriſt. 402. †† Ethelwerd Sax. an. Bede epit. in the year 565; and Bede, l. 2. c. 4.

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own annals report: whereby, it ſeems, wandering up and down, without certain ſeat, they lived by ſcumming thoſe ſeas and ſhores as pirates. But more authentic writers confirm us, that the Scots, whoever they be originally, came firſt into Ireland, and dwelt there, and named it Scotia long before the North of Britain took that name. * Oroſius, who lived at this time, writes, that Ireland was then inhabited by Scots. About this time †, though troubleſome, Pelagius a Briton found the leiſure to bring new and dangerous opinions into the church, and is largely writ againſt by St. Auſtin. But the Roman powers which were called into Italy, when once the fear of Alaric was over, made return into ſeveral provinces; and perhaps Victorinus of Toloſa, whom Rutilius the poet much commends, might be then prefect of this iſland; if it were not he whom Stilicho ſent hither. Buchanan writes, that endeavouring to reduce the Picts into a province, he gave the occaſion of their calling back Ferguſius and the Scots, whom Maximus with their help had quite driven out of the iſland: and indeed the verſes of that poet ſpeak him to have been active in thoſe parts. But the time which is aſſigned him later by Buchanan after Gratianus Municeps, by Camden after Conſtantine the tyrant, accords not with that which follows in the plain courſe of hiſtory. ‡ For the Vandals having broke in and waſted all Belgia, even to thoſe places from whence eaſieſt paſſage is into Britain, the Roman forces here, doubting to be ſuddenly invaded, were all in uproar, and in tumultuous manner ſet up Marcus, who it may ſeem was then deputy. But him not found agreeable to their heady courſes, they as haſtily kill §; for the giddy favour of a mutinying rout is as dangerous as their fury. The like they do by ‖ Gratian a Britiſh Roman, in four months advanced, adored, and deſtroyed. There was among them a common ſoldier whoſe name was Conſtantine, with him on a ſudden ſo taken they are, upon the conceit put in them of the luckineſs in his name, as without other viſible merit to create him emperor. It fortuned that the man

* Oroſ. l. 1. c. 2. † Poſt Chriſt. 405. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 407. Zozim. l. 6. § Sozom. l. 9. ‖ Oroſ. l. 7.

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had not his name for nought; ſo well he knew to lay hold, and make good uſe of an unexpected offer. He therefore with a wakened ſpirit, to the extent of his fortune dilating his mind, which in his mean condition before lay contracted and ſhrunk up, orders with good advice his military affairs: and with the whole force of the province, and what of Britiſh was able to bear arms, he paſſes into France, aſpiring at leaſt to an equal ſhare with Honorius in the empire. Where, by the valour of Edobecus a Frank, and Gerontius a Briton, and partly by perſuaſion, gaining all in his way, he comes to Arles *. With like felicity by his ſon Conſtans, whom of a monk he had made a Cæſar, and by the conduct of Gerontius he reduces all Spain to his obedience. But Conſtans after this diſplacing Gerontius, the affairs of Conſtantine ſoon went to wreck; for he by this means alienated, ſet up Maximus one of his friends againſt him in Spain †; and paſſing into France, took Vienna by aſſault, and having ſlain Conſtans in that city, calls on the Vandals againſt Conſtantine; who by him incited, as by him before they had been repreſſed, breaking forward, overrun moſt part of France. But when Conſtantius Comes, the emperor's general, with a ſtrong power came out of Italy, ‡ Gerontius, deſerted by his own forces, retires into Spain; where alſo growing into contempt with the ſoldiers, after his flight out of France, by whom his houſe in the night was beſet §, having firſt with a few of his ſervants defended himſelf valiantly, and ſlain above three hundred, though when his darts and other weapons were ſpent he might have eſcaped at a private door, as all his ſervants did, not enduring to leave his wife Nonnichia, whom he loved, to the violence of an enraged crew, he firſt cuts off the head of his friend Alanus, as was agreed; next his wife, though loth and delaying, yet by her entreated and importuned, refuſing to outlive her huſband, he diſpatches: for which her reſolution, Sozomenus an eccleſiaſtic writer gives her high praiſe, both as a wife, and as a chriſtian. Laſt of all, againſt himſelf he turns his ſword; but miſſing the mortal place, with his poniard

* Poſt Chriſt. 408. † Poſt Chriſt. 409. ‡ Sozom. l. 9.
§ Olympiodor. apud Photium.

finiſhes

finiſhes the work. Thus far is purſued the ſtory of a famous Briton, related negligently by our other hiſtorians. As for Conſtantine, his ending was not anſwerable to his ſetting out; for he with his other ſon Julian beſieged by Conſtantius in Arles, and miſtruſting the change of his wonted ſucceſs, to ſave his head, poorly turns prieſt; but that not availing him, is carried into Italy, and there put to death; having four years acted the emperor. While theſe things were doing*, the Britons at home, deſtitute of Roman aid, and the chief ſtrength of their own youth, that went firſt with Maximus, then with Conſtantine, not returning home, vexed and haraſſed by their wonted enemies, had ſent meſſages to Honorius; but he at that time not being able to defend Rome itſelf, which the ſame year was taken by Alaric, adviſes them by his letter to conſult how beſt they might for their own ſafety, and acquits them of the Roman juriſdiction†. They therefore thus relinquiſhed, and by all right the government relapſing into their own hands, thenceforth betook themſelves to live after their own laws, defending their bounds as well as they were able; and the Armoricans, who not long after were called the Britons of France, followed their example. Thus expired this great empire of the Romans; firſt in Britain, ſoon after in Italy itſelf: having born chief ſway in this iſland, though never thoroughly ſubdued, or all at once in ſubjection, if we reckon from the coming in of Julius to the taking of Rome by Alaric, in which year Honorius wrote thoſe letters of diſcharge into Britain, the ſpace of 462 years ‡. And with the empire fell alſo what before in this Weſtern world was chiefly Roman; learning, valour, eloquence, hiſtory, civility, and even language itſelf, all theſe together, as it were, with equal pace, diminiſhing and decaying. Henceforth we are to ſteer by another ſort of authors; near enough to the things they write, as in their own country, if that would ſerve; in time not much belated, ſome of equal age; in expreſſion barbarous, and to ſay how judicious, I ſuſpend a while: this we muſt expect; in civil matters to find them dubious relaters, and ſtill to

* Gildas, Beda. Zozim. l. 6. † Procopius vandalic. ‡ Calviſ. Sigon.

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the beſt advantage of what they term Holy Church, meaning indeed themſelves: in moſt other matters of religion, blind, aſtoniſhed, and ſtruck with ſuperſtition as with a planet; in one word, Monks. Yet theſe guides, where can be had no better, muſt be followed; in groſs, it may be true enough; in circumſtances each man, as his judgement gives him, may reſerve his faith, or beſtow it. But ſo different a ſtate of things requires a ſeveral relation.

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

THE

HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

THE THIRD BOOK.

THIS third book having to tell of accidents as various and exemplary as the intermiſſion or change of government hath any where brought forth, may deſerve attention more than common, and repay it with like benefit to them who can judiciouſly read: conſidering eſpecially that the late civil broils had caſt us into a condition not much unlike to what the Britons then were in when the imperial juriſdiction departing hence left them to the ſway of their own councils; which times by comparing ſeriouſly with theſe latter, and that confuſed anarchy with this interreign, we may be able from two ſuch remarkable turns of ſtate, producing like events among us, to raiſe a knowledge of ourſelves both great and weighty, by judging hence what kind of men the Britons generally are in matters of ſo high enterpriſe; how by nature, induſtry, or cuſtom, fitted to attempt or undergo matters of ſo main conſequence: for if it be a high point of wiſdom in every private man, much more is it in a nation to know itſelf; rather than puffed up with vulgar flatteries and encomiums, for want of ſelf-knowledge, to enterpriſe raſhly and come off miſerably in great undertakings.

[* " Of theſe who ſwayed moſt in the late troubles, " few words as to this point may ſuffice. They had " arms, leaders, and ſucceſſes to their wiſh; but to make " uſe of ſo great an advantage was not their ſkill.

" To other cauſes therefore, and not to the want of " force, or warlike manhood in the Britons, both thoſe, " and theſe lately, we muſt impute the ill huſbanding of " thoſe fair opportunities, which might ſeem to have put

* The following paragraphs, marked with inverted commas, have been omitted in all the former editions of our author's Hiſtory of Britain, except that publiſhed in the collection of his works, 1738. 2 vol. folio, and the ſubſequent edition in quarto.

" liberty ſo long deſired, like a bridle into their hands.
" Of which other cauſes equally belonging to ruler, prieſt,
" and people, above hath been related: which, as they
" brought thoſe ancient natives to miſery and ruin, by
" liberty, which, rightly uſed, might have made them
" happy; ſo brought they theſe of late, after many la-
" bours, much bloodſhed, and vaſt expenſe, to ridicu-
" lous fruſtration: in whom the like defects, the like
" miſcarriages notoriouſly appeared, with vices not leſs
" hateful or inexcuſable.

" For a parliament being called, to addreſs many
" things, as it was thought, the people with great
" courage, and expectation to be eaſed of what diſcon-
" tented them, choſe to their behoof in parliament, ſuch
" as they thought beſt affected to the public good, and
" ſome indeed men of wiſdom and integrity; the reſt,
" (to be ſure the greater part,) whom wealth or ample
" poſſeſſions, or bold and active ambition (rather than
" merit) had commended to the ſame place.

" But when once the ſuperficial zeal and popular
" fumes that acted their New magiſtracy were cooled,
" and ſpent in them, ſtrait every one betook himſelf
" (ſetting the commonwealth behind, his private ends
" before) to do as his own profit or ambition led him.
" Then was juſtice delayed, and ſoon after denied: ſpight
" and favour determined all: hence faction, thence
" treachery, both at home and in the field: every where
" wrong, and oppreſſion: foul and horrid deeds com-
" mitted daily, or maintained, in ſecret, or in open.
" Some who had been called from ſhops and warehouſes,
" without other merit, to ſit in ſupreme councils and
" committees, (as their breeding was) fell to huckſter
" the commonwealth. Others did thereafter as men
" could ſooth and humour them beſt; ſo he who would
" give moſt, or, under covert of hypocritical zeal, in-
" ſinuate baſeſt, enjoyed unworthily the rewards of learn-
" ing and fidelity; or eſcaped the puniſhment of his
" crimes and miſdeeds. Their votes and ordinances,
" which men looked ſhould have contained the repealing
" of bad laws, and the immediate conſtitution of better,
" reſounded with nothing elſe, but new impoſitions,

" taxes,

" taxes, exciſes; yearly, monthly, weekly. Not to
" reckon the offices, gifts, and preferments beſtowed and
" ſhared among themſelves: they in the mean while,
" who were ever faithfulleſt to this cauſe, and freely aided
" them in perſon, or with their ſubſtance, when they
" durſt not compel either, ſlighted and bereaved after of
" their juſt debts by greedy ſequeſtrations, were toſſed
" up and down after miſerable attendance from one com-
" mittee to another with petitions in their hands, yet
" either miſſed the obtaining of their ſuit, or though it
" were at length granted, (mere ſhame and reaſon oft-
" times extorting from them at leaſt a ſhow of juſtice)
" yet by their ſequeſtrators and ſubcommittees abroad,
" men for the moſt part of inſatiable hands, and noted
" diſloyalty, thoſe orders were commonly diſobeyed:
" which for certain durſt not have been, without ſecret
" compliance, if not compact with ſome ſuperiours able
" to bear them out. Thus were their friends confiſcate
" in their enemies, while they forfeited their debtors to
" the ſtate, as they called it, but indeed to the ravening
" ſeizure of innumerable thieves in office: yet were
" withal no leſs burdened in all extraordinary aſſeſſments
" and oppreſſions, than thoſe whom they took to be diſ-
" affected: nor were we happier creditors to what we
" called the ſtate, than to them who were ſequeſtered as
" the ſtate's enemies.

" For that faith which ought to have been kept as ſa-
" cred and inviolable as any thing holy, 'the Public Faith,'
" after infinite ſums received, and all the wealth of the
" church not better employed, but ſwallowed up into a
" private Gulf, was not ere long aſhamed to confeſs
" bankrupt. And now beſides the ſweetneſs of bribery,
" and other gain, with the love of rule, their own guil-
" tineſs and the dreaded name of Juſt Account, which the
" people had long called for, diſcovered plainly that there
" were of their own number, who ſecretly contrived and
" fomented thoſe troubles and combuſtions in the land,
" which openly they ſat to remedy; and would con-
" tinually find ſuch work, as ſhould keep them from being
" ever brought to that Terrible Stand of laying down
" their authority for lack of new buſineſs, or not draw-

" ing it out to any length of time, though upon the ruin
" of a whole nation.

" And if the ſtate were in this plight, religion was
" not in much better; to reform which, a certain num-
" ber of divines were called, neither choſen by any rule
" or cuſtom eccleſiaſtical, nor eminent for either piety or
" knowledge above others left out; only as each mem-
" ber of parliament in his private fancy thought fit, ſo
" elected one by one. The moſt part of them were ſuch,
" as had preached and cried down, with great ſhow of
" zeal, the avarice and pluralities of biſhops and prelates;
" that one cure of ſouls was a full employment for one
" ſpiritual paſtor how able ſoever, if not a charge rather
" above human ſtrength. Yet theſe conſcientious men
" (ere any part of the work done for which they came
" together, and that on the public ſalary) wanted not
" boldneſs, to the ignominy and ſcandal of their paſtor-
" like profeſſion, and eſpecially of their boaſted refor-
" mation, to ſeize into their hands, or not unwillingly
" to accept (beſides one, ſometimes two or more of the
" beſt livings) collegiate maſterſhips in the univerſities,
" rich lectures in the city, ſetting ſail to all winds that
" might blow gain into their covetous boſoms: by which
" means theſe great rebukers of nonreſidence, among ſo
" many diſtant cures, were not aſhamed to be ſeen ſo
" quickly pluraliſts and nonreſidents themſelves, to a
" fearful condemnation doubtleſs by their own mouths.
" And yet the main doctrine for which they took ſuch
" pay, and inſiſted upon with more vehemence than
" goſpel, was but to tell us in effect, that their doctrine
" was worth nothing, and the ſpiritual power of their
" miniſtry leſs available than bodily compulſion; per-
" ſuading the magiſtrate to uſe it, as a ſtronger means to
" ſubdue and bring in conſcience, than evangelical per-
" ſuaſion: diſtruſting the virtue of their own ſpiritual
" weapons, which were given them, if they be rightly
" called, with full warrant of ſufficiency to pull down all
" thoughts and imaginations that exalt themſelves
" againſt God. But while they taught compulſion
" without convincement, which not long before they
" complained of as executed unchriſtianly, againſt
" themſelves;

" themſelves; theſe intents are clear to have been no
" better than antichriſtian: ſetting up a ſpiritual tyranny
" by a ſecular power, to the advancing of their own au-
" thority above the magiſtrate, whom they would have
" made their executioner, to puniſh church-delinquen-
" cies, whereof civil laws have no cognizance.

" And well did their diſciples manifeſt themſelves to
" be no better principled than their teachers, truſted with
" committeeſhips and other gainful offices, upon their
" commendations for zealous, (and as they ſticked not
" to term them) godly men; but executing their places
" like children of the devil, unfaithfully, unjuſtly, un-
" mercifully, and where not corruptly, ſtupidly. So that
" between them the teachers, and theſe the diſciples,
" there hath not been a more ignominious and mortal
" wound to faith, to piety, to the work of reformation,
" nor more cauſe of blaſpheming given to the enemies of
" God and truth, ſince the firſt preaching of reformation.

" The people therefore looking one while on the ſta-
" tiſts, whom they beheld without conſtancy or firmneſs,
" labouring doubtfully beneath the weight of their own
" too high undertakings, buſieſt in petty things, trifling
" in the main, deluded and quite alienated, expreſſed
" divers ways their diſaffection; ſome deſpiſing whom be-
" fore they honoured, ſome deſerting, ſome inveighing,
" ſome conſpiring againſt them. Then looking on the
" churchmen, whom they ſaw under ſubtle hypocriſy to
" have preached their own follies, moſt of them not the
" goſpel, timeſervers, covetous, illiterate perſecutors,
" not lovers of the truth, like in moſt things whereof
" they accuſed their predeceſſors: looking on all this,
" the people which had been kept warm a while with the
" counterfeit zeal of their pulpits, after a falſe heat, be-
" came more cold and obdurate than before, ſome turn-
" ing to lewdneſs, ſome to flat atheiſm, put beſide their
" old religion, and foully ſcandalized in what they ex-
" pected ſhould be new.

" Thus they who of late were extolled as our greateſt
" deliverers, and had the people wholly at their devotion,
" by ſo diſcharging their truſt as we ſee, did not only
" weaken and unfit themſelves to be diſpenſers of what

" liberty they pretended, but unfitted alſo the people,
" now grown worſe and more diſordinate, to receive or
" to digeſt any liberty at all. For ſtories teach us, that
" liberty ſought out of ſeaſon, in a corrupt and degene-
" rate age, brought Rome itſelf to a farther ſlavery: for
" liberty hath a ſharp and double edge, fit only to be
" handled by juſt and virtuous men; to bad and diſſo-
" lute, it becomes a miſchief unwieldly in their own
" hands: neither is it completely given, but by them who
" have the happy ſkill to know what is grievance and
" unjuſt to a people, and how to remove it wiſely; what
" good laws are wanting, and how to frame them
" ſubſtantially, that good men may enjoy the freedom
" which they merit, and the bad the curb which they
" need. But to do this, and to know theſe exquiſite pro-
" portions, the heroic wiſdom which is required, ſur-
" mounted far the principles of theſe narrow politicians:
" what wonder then if they ſunk as theſe unfortunate
" Britons before them, entangled and oppreſſed with
" things too hard and generous above their ſtrain and
" temper? For Britain, to ſpeak a truth not often
" ſpoken, as it is a land fruitful enough of men ſtout
" and courageous in war, ſo it is naturally not over-
" fertile of men able to govern juſtly and prudently
" in peace, truſting only in their motherwit; who
" conſider not juſtly, that civility, prudence, love of
" the public good, more than of money or vain ho-
" nour, are to this ſoil in a manner outlandiſh; grow
" not here, but in minds well implanted with ſolid
" and elaborate breeding, too impolitic elſe and rude,
" if not headſtrong and intractable to the induſtry
" and virtue either of executing or underſtanding
" true civil government. Valiant indeed, and proſ-
" perous to win a field; but to know the end and reaſon
" of winning, unjudicious, and unwiſe: in good or bad
" ſucceſs, alike unteachable. For the ſun, which we want,
" ripens wits as well as fruits; and as wine and oil are
" imported to us from abroad, ſo muſt ripe underſtand-
" ing, and many civil virtues, be imported into our
" minds from foreign writings, and examples of beſt ages;
" we ſhall elſe miſcarry ſtill, and come ſhort in the at-

" tempts of any great enterpriſe. Hence did their vic-
" tories prove as fruitleſs, as their loſſes dangerous; and
" left them ſtill conquering under the ſame grievances,
" that men ſuffer conquered: which was indeed unlikely
" to go otherwiſe, unleſs men more than vulgar bred up,
" as few of them were, in the knowledge of ancient and
" illuſtrious deeds, invincible againſt many and vain titles,
" impartial to friendſhips and relations, had conducted
" their affairs: but then from the chapman to the retailer,
" many whoſe ignorance was more audacious than the
" reſt, were admitted with all their ſordid rudiments to
" bear no mean ſway among them, both in church and
" ſtate.

" From the confluence of all their errours, miſchiefs,
" and miſdemeanors, what in the eyes of man could be
" expected, but what befel thoſe ancient inhabitants,
" whom they ſo much reſembled, confuſion in the end?

" But on theſe things, and this parallel, having
" enough inſiſted, I return to the ſtory, which gave us
" matter of this digreſſion."]

The Britons thus, as we heard, being left without protection from the empire, and the land in a manner emptied of all her youth, conſumed in wars abroad, or not caring to return home, themſelves, through long ſubjection, ſervile in mind *, ſlothful of body, and with the uſe of arms unacquainted, ſuſtained but ill for many years the violence of thoſe barbarous invaders, who now daily grew upon them. For although at firſt greedy of change †, and to be thought the leading nation to freedom from the empire, they ſeemed awhile to beſtir them with a ſhow of diligence in their new affairs, ſome ſecretly aſpiring to rule, others adoring the name of liberty, yet ſo ſoon as they felt by proof the weight of what it was to govern well themſelves, and what was wanting within them, not ſtomach or the love of licence, but the wiſdom, the virtue, the labour, to uſe and maintain true liberty, they ſoon remitted their heat, and ſhrunk more wretchedly under the burden of their own liberty, than before under a foreign yoke. Inſomuch that the reſidue of thoſe Romans, which had planted

* Gild. Bede. Malins. † Zozim. l. 6.

themſelves here, deſpairing of their ill deportment at home, and weak reſiſtance in the field by thoſe few who had the courage or the ſtrength to bear arms, nine years after the ſacking of Rome removed out of Britain into France*, hiding for haſte great part of their treaſure, which was never after found †. And now again the Britons, no longer able to ſupport themſelves againſt the prevailing enemy, ſolicit Honorius to their aid ‡, with mournful letters, embaſſages and vows of perpetual ſubjection to Rome, if the northern foe were but repulſed. § He at their requeſt ſpares them one legion, which with great ſlaughter of the Scots and Picts drove them beyond the borders, reſcued the Britons, and adviſed them to build a wall acroſs the iſland, between ſea and ſea, from the place where Edinburgh now ſtands to the frith of Dunbritton, by the city Alcluith ‖. But the material being only turf, and by the rude multitude unartificially built up without better direction, availed them little. ** For no ſooner was the legion departed, but the greedy ſpoilers returning land in great numbers from their boats and pinnaces, waſting, ſlaying, and treading down all before them. Then are meſſengers again poſted to Rome in lamentable ſort, beſeeching that they would not ſuffer a whole province to be deſtroyed, and the Roman name, ſo honourable yet among them, to become the ſubject of Barbarian ſcorn and inſolence. †† The emperor, at their ſad complaint, with what ſpeed was poſſible, ſends to their ſuccour. Who coming ſuddenly on thoſe ravenous multitudes that minded only ſpoil, ſurpriſe them with a terrible ſlaughter. They who eſcaped fled back to thoſe ſeas, from whence yearly they were wont to arrive, and return laden with booties. But the Romans, who came not now to rule, but charitably to aid, declaring that it ſtood not longer with the eaſe of their affairs to make ſuch laborious voyages in purſuit of ſo baſe and vagabond robbers, of whom neither glory was to be got, nor gain, exhorted them to manage their own warfare; and to defend like men their country,

* Poſt Chriſt. 418. † Ethelwerd. annal. Sax. ‡ Gildas. Poſt Chriſt. 422. § Diaconus, l. 14. ‖ Bede, l. 1. c. 2. ** Gildas. †† Poſt Chriſt. 423.

their

their wives, their children, and what was to be dearer than life, their liberty, againſt an enemy not ſtronger than themſelves, if their own ſloth and cowardice had not made them ſo: if they would but only find hands to graſp defenſive arms, rather than baſely ſtretch them out to receive bonds. * They gave them alſo their help to build a new wall, not of earth as the former, but of ſtone, (both at the public coſt, and by particular contributions) traverſing the iſle in a direct line from eaſt to weſt, between certain cities placed there as frontiers to bear off the enemy, where Severus had walled once before. They raiſed it twelve foot high, eight broad. Along the ſouth ſhore, becauſe from thence alſo like hoſtility was feared, they place towers by the ſea-ſide at certain diſtances, for ſafety of the coaſt. Withal they inſtruct them in the art of war, leaving patterns of their arms and weapons behind them; and with animating words, and many leſſons of valour to a faint hearted audience, bid them finally farewel, without purpoſe to return. And theſe two friendly expeditions, the laſt of any hither by the Romans, were performed, as may be gathered out of Beda and Diaconus, the two laſt years of Honorius. † Their leader, as ſome modernly write, was Gallio of Ravenna; Buchanan, who departs not much from the fables of his predeceſſor Boethius, names him Maximianus, and brings againſt him to this battle Fergus firſt king of Scots, after their ſecond ſuppoſed coming into Scotland, Durſtus, king of Picts, both there ſlain, and Dioneth an imaginary king of Britain, or duke of Cornwall, who improbably ſided with them againſt his own country, hardly eſcaping ‡. With no leſs exactneſs of particular circumſtances he takes upon him to relate all thoſe tumultuary inroads of the Scots and Picts into Britain, as if they had but yeſterday happened, their order of battle, manner of fight, number of ſlain, articles of peace, things whereof Gildas and Beda are utterly ſilent, authors to whom the Scotch writers have none to cite comparable in antiquity; no more therefore to be believed for bare aſſertions, however

* Bede, ibid. Gildas. † Blond. Sabellic. ‡ Buch. l. 5.

quaintly

quaintly dreſt, than our Geoffrey of Monmouth, when he varies moſt from authentic ſtory. But either the inbred vanity of ſome, in that reſpect unworthily called hiſtorians, or the fond zeal of praiſing their nations above truth, hath ſo far tranſported them, that where they find nothing faithfully to relate, they fall confidently to invent what they think may either beſt ſet off their hiſtory, or magnify their country.

The Scots and Picts in manners differing ſomewhat from each other, but ſtill unanimous to rob and ſpoil, hearing that the Romans intended not to return, from their gorroghs or leathern frigates* pour out themſelves in ſwarms upon the land more confident than ever; and from the north end of the iſle to the very wall's ſide, then firſt took poſſeſſion as inhabitants; while the Britons with idol weapons in their hands ſtand trembling on the battlements, till the half naked Barbarians with their long and formidable iron hooks pull them down headlong. The reſt not only quitting the wall, but towns and cities, leave them to the bloody purſuer, who follows killing, waſting, and deſtroying all in his way. From theſe confuſions aroſe a famine, and from thence diſcord and civil commotion among the Britons; each man living by what he robbed or took violently from his neighbour. When all ſtores were conſumed and ſpent where men inhabited, they betook them to the woods, and lived by hunting, which was their only ſuſtainment. † To the heaps of theſe evils from without were added new diviſions within the church. ‡ For Agricola the ſon of Severianus a Pelagian biſhop had ſpread his doctrine wide among the Britons, not uninfected before. The ſounder part, neither willing to embrace his opinion to the overthrow of divine grace, nor able to refute him, crave aſſiſtance from the churches of France: who ſend them Germanus biſhop of Auxerre, and Lupus of Troyes. They by continual preaching in churches §, in ſtreets, in fields, and not without miracles, as is written, confirmed ſome, regained others, and at Verulam in a public diſputation put to ſilence their

* Gildas, Bede. † Bede. ‡ Conſtantius. § Poſt Chriſt. 426. Proſp. Aquit. Matth. Weſt. ad ann. 446.

chief

chief adverſaries. This reformation in the church was believed to be the cauſe of their ſucceſs a while after in the field. For the Saxons and Picts with joint force *, which was no new thing before the Saxons at leaſt had any dwelling in this iſland, during the abode of Germanus here, had made a ſtrong impreſſion from the north. † The Britons marching out againſt them, and miſtruſting their own power, ſend to Germanus and his colleague, repoſing more in the ſpiritual ſtrength of thoſe two men, then in their own thouſands armed. They came, and their preſence in the camp was not leſs than if a whole army had come to ſecond them. It was then the time of Lent, and the people, inſtructed by the daily ſermons of theſe two paſtors, came flocking to receive baptiſm. There was a place in the camp ſet apart as a church, and tricked up with boughs upon Eaſter-day. The enemy underſtanding this, and that the Britons were taken up with religions more than with feats of arms, advances after the paſchal feaſt, as to a certain victory. German, who alſo had intelligence of their approach, undertakes to be captain that day; and riding out with ſelected troops to diſcover what advantages the place might offer, lights on a valley compaſſed about with hills, by which the enemy was to paſs. And placing there his ambuſh, warns them, that what word they heard him pronounce aloud, the ſame they ſhould repeat with univerſal ſhout. The enemy paſſes on ſecurely, and German thrice aloud cries Hallelujah; which anſwered by the ſoldiers with a ſudden burſt of clamour, is from the hills and valleys redoubled. The Saxons and Picts on a ſudden ſuppoſing it the noiſe of a huge hoſt, throw themſelves into flight, caſting down their arms, and great numbers of them are drowned in the river which they had newly paſſed. This victory, thus won without hands, left to the Britons plenty of ſpoil, and the perſon and the preaching of German greater authority and reverence than before. And the exploit might paſs for current, if Conſtantius, the writer of his life in the next age, had reſolved us how the Britiſh army came to want

* Poſt Chriſt. 430. † Conſtant. vit. German.

baptizing;

baptizing; for of any paganiſm at that time, or long before, in the land we read not, or that Pelagianiſm was rebaptized. The place of this victory, as is reported, was in Flintſhire *, by a town called Guid cruc, and the river Allen, where a field retains the name of Maes German to this day. But ſo ſoon as German was returned home †, the Scots and Picts, (though now ſo many of them chriſtians, that Palladius a deacon was ordained and ſent by Celeſtine the pope to be a biſhop over them,) were not ſo well reclaimed, or not ſo many of them, as to ceaſe from doing miſchief to their neighbours ‡, where they found no impeachment to fall in yearly as they were wont. They therefore of the Britons who perhaps were not yet wholly ruined, in the ſtrongeſt and ſouth-weſt parts of the iſle §, ſend letters to Ætius, then third time conſul of Rome, with this ſuperſcription; "To Ætius thrice conſul, the groans of the Britons." And after a few words thus: "The barbarians drive us to the ſea, the ſea drives us back to the barbarians: thus bandied up and down between two deaths, we periſh either by the ſword or by the ſea," But the empire, at that time overſpread with Huns and Vandals, was not in condition to lend them aid. Thus rejected and wearied out with continual flying from place to place, but more afflicted with famine, which then grew outrageous among them, many for hunger yielded to the enemy; others either more reſolute, or leſs expoſed to wants, keeping within woods and mountainous places, not only defended themſelves, but ſallying out, at length gave a ſtop to the inſulting foe, with many ſeaſonable defeats; led by ſome eminent perſon, as may be thought, who exhorted them not to truſt in their own ſtrength, but in divine aſſiſtance. And perhaps no other here is meant than the foreſaid deliverance by German, if computation would permit, which Gildas either not much regarded, or might miſtake; but that he tarried ſo long here, the writers of his life aſſent not ‖. Finding therefore ſuch oppoſition, the Scots or Iriſh robbers, for ſo they are in-

* Uſſer. Primod. p. 333. † Poſt Chriſt. 431. Proſp. Aquit; Ethelwerd. ‡ Florent. Gild. Bede. § Malmſbury, l. 1. c. 1. p. 8. Poſt Chriſt. 446. ‖ Gildas.

differently

differently termed, without delay get them home. The Picts, as before was mentioned, then firſt began to ſettle in the utmoſt parts of the iſland, uſing now and then to make inroads upon the Britons. But they in the mean while thus rid of their enemies, begin afreſh to till the ground; which after ceſſation yields her fruit in ſuch abundance, as had not formerly been known, for many ages. But wantonneſs and luxury, the wonted companions of plenty, grow up as faſt; and with them, if Gildas deſerve belief, all other vices incident to human corruption. That which he notes eſpecially to be the chief perverting of all good in the land, and ſo continued in his days, was the hatred of truth, and all ſuch as durſt appear to vindicate and maintain it. Againſt them, as againſt the only diſturbers, all the malice of the land was bent. Lies and falſities, and ſuch as could beſt invent them, were only in requeſt. Evil was embraced for good, wickedneſs honoured and eſteemed as virtue. And this quality their valour had, againſt a foreign enemy to be ever backward and heartleſs; to civil broils eager and prompt. In matters of government, and the ſearch of truth, weak and ſhallow; in falſhood and wicked deeds pregnant and induſtrious. Pleaſing to God, or not pleaſing, with them weighed alike; and the worſe moſt an end was the weigher. All things were done contrary to public welfare and ſafety; nor only by ſecular men, for the clergy alſo, whoſe example ſhould have guided others, were as vicious and corrupt. Many of them beſotted with continual drunkenneſs, or ſwoln with pride and wilfulneſs, full of contention, full of envy, indiſcrete, incompetent judges to determine what in the practice of life is good or evil, what lawful or unlawful. Thus furniſhed with judgement, and for manners thus qualified both prieſt and lay, they agree to chooſe them ſeveral kings of their own; as near as might be, likeſt themſelves; and the words of my author import as much. Kings were anointed, ſaith he, not of God's anointing, but ſuch as were cruelleſt; and ſoon after as inconſiderately, without examining the truth, put to death, by their anointers, to ſet up others more fierce and proud. As for the election of their

kings

kings (and that they had not all one monarch, appears both in ages paſt and by the ſequel) it began, as nigh as may be gueſſed, either this year * or the following, when they ſaw the Romans had quite deſerted their claim. About which time alſo Pelagianiſm again prevailing by means of ſome few, the Britiſh clergy too weak, it ſeems, at diſpute, entreat the ſecond time German to their aſſiſtance; who coming with Severus a diſciple of Lupus, that was his former aſſociate, ſtands not now to argue, for the people generally continued right; but inquiring thoſe authors of new diſturbance, adjudges them to baniſhment. They therefore by conſent of all were delivered to German; who carrying them over with him †, diſpoſed of them in ſuch place where neither they could infect others, and were themſelves under cure of better inſtruction. But Germanus the ſame year died in Italy; and the Britons not long after found themſelves again in much perplexity, with no ſlight rumour, that their old troublers the Scots and Picts had prepared a ſtrong invaſion, purpoſing to kill all, and dwell themſelves in the land from end to end. But ere their coming in, as if the inſtruments of divine juſtice had been at ſtrife, which of them firſt ſhould deſtroy a wicked nation, the peſtilence, foreſtalling the ſword, left ſcarce alive whom to bury the dead; and for that time, as one extremity keeps off another, preſerved the land from a worſe incumbrance of thoſe barbarous diſpoſſeſſors, whom the contagion gave not leave now to enter far. ‡ And yet the Britons, nothing bettered by theſe heavy judgments, the one threatened, the other felt, inſtead of acknowledging the hand of Heaven, run to the palace of their king Vortigern with complaints and cries of what they ſuddenly feared from the Pictiſh invaſion. Vortigern, who at that time was chief rather than ſole king, unleſs the reſt had perhaps left their dominions to the common enemy, is ſaid by him of Monmouth, to have procured the death firſt of Conſtantine, then of Conſtance his ſon, who of a monk was made king, and by that means to have uſurped the

* Poſt Chriſt. 447. Conſtant. Bede. † Poſt Chriſt. 448. Sigon. Gildas. ‡ Malmſ. l. 1.

crown.

crown. But they who can remember how Conſtantine, with his ſon Conſtance the monk, the one made emperor, the other Cæſar, periſhed in France, may diſcern the ſimple fraud of this fable. But Vortigern however coming to reign, is deciphered by truer ſtories a proud unfortunate tyrant, and yet of the people much beloved, becauſe his vices ſorted ſo well with theirs. For neither was he ſkilled in war, nor wiſe in counſel, but covetous, luſtful, luxurious, and prone to all vice; waſting the public treaſure in gluttony and riot, careleſs of the common danger, and through a haughty ignorance unapprehenſive of his own. Nevertheleſs importuned and awakened at length by unuſual clamours of the people, he ſummons a general council, to provide ſome better means than heretofore had been uſed againſt theſe continual annoyances from the north. Wherein by advice of all it was determined, that the Saxons be invited into Britain againſt the Scots and Picts; whoſe breaking in they either ſhortly expected, or already found they had not ſtrength enough to oppoſe. The Saxons were a barbarous and heathen nation, famous for nothing elſe but robberies and cruelties done to all their neighbours, both by ſea and land; in particular to this iſland, witneſs that military force, which the Roman emperors maintained here purpoſely againſt them, under a ſpecial commander, whoſe title, as is found on good record *, was "Count of the Saxon ſhore in Britain," and the many miſchiefs done by their landing here, both alone and with the Picts, as above hath been related, witneſs as much. † They were a people thought by good writers, to be deſcended of the Sacæ, a kind of Scythians in the north of Aſia, thence called Sacaſons, or ſons of Sacæ, who with a flood of other northern nations came into Europe, toward the declining of the Roman empire; and uſing piracy from Denmark all along theſe ſeas, poſſeſſed at length by intruſion all that coaſt of Germany §, and the Netherlands, which took thence the name of Old Saxony, lying between the Rhine and Elve, and from thence north as far as Eidora, the river

* Notitiæ imperii. † Florent Wigorn. ad an. 370. § Ethelwerd.

bounding

bounding Holſatia, though not ſo firmly, or ſo largely, but that their multitude wandered yet uncertain of habitation. Such gueſts as theſe the Britons reſolve now to ſend for, and entreat into their houſes and poſſeſſions, at whoſe very name heretofore they trembled afar off. So much do men through impatience count ever that the heavieſt, which they bear at preſent, and to remove the evil which they ſuffer, care not to pull on a greater; as if variety and change in evil alſo were acceptable. Or whether it be that men, in the deſpair of better, imagine fondly a kind of refuge from one miſery to another.

* The Britons therefore with Vortigern, who was then accounted king over them all, reſolve in full council to ſend embaſſadors of their choiceſt men with great gifts, and ſaith a Saxon writer in theſe words, deſiring their aid; " Worthy Saxons, hearing the fame of your proweſs, the diſtreſſed Britons wearied out, and overpreſſed by a continual invading enemy, have ſent us to beſeech your aid. They have a land fertile and ſpacious, which to your commands they bid us ſurrender. Heretofore we have lived with freedom, under the obedience and protection of the Roman empire. Next to them we know none worthier than yourſelves: and therefore become ſuppliants to your valour. Leave us not below our preſent enemies, and to aught by you impoſed, willingly we ſhall ſubmit." Yet Ethelwerd writes not that they promiſed ſubjection, but only amity and league. They therefore who had chief rule among them †, hearing themſelves entreated by the Britons, to that which gladly they would have wiſhed to obtain of them by entreating, to the Britiſh embaſſy return this anſwer: ‡ " Be aſſured henceforth of the Saxons, as of faithful friends to the Britons, no leſs ready to ſtand by them in their need, than in their beſt of fortune." The embaſſadors return joyful, and with news as welcome to their country, whoſe ſiniſter fate had now blinded them for deſtruction. § The Saxons, conſulting firſt their gods

* Ethelwerd. Malmſb. Witichind. geſt. Sax. l. 1. † Malmſ. ‡ Witichind. § Gildas.

(for

(for they had anſwer, that the land whereto they went, they ſhould hold three hundred years, half that time conquering, and half quietly poſſeſſing) furniſh out three long gallies *, or kyules, with a choſen company of warlike youth, under the conduct of two brothers, Hengiſt and Horſa, deſcended in the fourth degree from Woden; of whom, deified for the fame of his acts, moſt kings of thoſe nations derive their pedigree. Theſe, and either mixed with theſe, or ſoon after by themſelves, two other tribes, or neighbouring people, Jutes and Angles, the one from Jutland, the other from Anglen by the city of Sleſwick, both provinces of Denmark, arrive in the firſt year of Martian the Greek emperor, from the birth of Chriſt four hundred and fifty †, received with much good-will of the people firſt, then of the king, who after ſome aſſurances given and taken, beſtows on them the iſle of Tanet, where they firſt landed, hoping they might be made hereby more eager againſt the Picts, when they fought as for their own country, and more loyal to the Britons, from whom they had received a place to dwell in, which before they wanted. The Britiſh Nennius writes, that theſe brethren were driven into exile out of Germany, and to Vortigern who reigned in much fear, one while of the Picts, then of the Romans and Ambroſius, came opportunely into the haven. ‡ For it was the cuſtom in Old Saxony, when their numerous offſpring overflowed the narrowneſs of their bounds, to ſend them out by lot into new dwellings wherever they found room, either vacant or to be forced. § But whether ſought, or unſought, they dwelt not here long without employment. For the Scots and Picts were now come down, ſome ſay, as far as Stamford, in Lincolnſhire, whom perhaps not imagining to meet new oppoſition, the Saxons, though not till after a ſharp encounter, put to flight ‖; and that more than once; ſlaying in fight ¶, as ſome Scotch writers affirm, their king Eugenius the ſon of Fergus. ** Hengiſt perceiving the iſland to be rich and fruitful, but her princes and other inhabitants given to vicious eaſe, ſends word home, in-

* Bede. † Poſt Chriſt. 450. Nennius. Malmſ. ‡ Malmſ. § Henry Huntingd. ‖ Ethelwerd. ¶ Bed. Nen. ** Nenn.

viting others to a ſhare of his good ſucceſs. Who returning with ſeventeen ſhips, were grown up now to a ſufficient army, and entertained without ſuſpicion on theſe terms, that they "ſhould bear the brunt of war againſt the Picts, receiving ſtipend, and ſome place to inhabit." With theſe was brought over the daughter of Hengiſt, a virgin wonderous fair, as is reported, Rowen the Britiſh call her: ſhe by commandment of her father, who had invited the king to a banquet, coming in preſence with a bowl of wine to welcome him, and to attend on his cup till the feaſt ended, won ſo much upon his fancy, though already wived, as to demand her in marriage upon any conditions. Hengiſt at firſt, though it fell out perhaps according to his drift, held off, excuſing his meanneſs; then obſcurely intimating a deſire and almoſt a neceſſity, by reaſon of his augmented numbers, to have his narrow bounds of Tanet enlarged to the circuit of Kent, had it ſtraight by donation; though Guorangonus, till then, was king of that place; and ſo, as it were overcome by the great munificence of Vortigern, gave his daughter. And ſtill encroaching on the king's favour, got further leave to call over Octa and Ebiſſa, his own and his brother's ſon; pretending that they, if the north were given them, would ſit there as a continual defence againſt the Scots, while himſelf guarded the eaſt. * They therefore ſailing with forty ſhips, even to the Orcades, and every way curbing the Scots and Picts, poſſeſſed that part of the iſle which is now Northumberland. Notwithſtanding this, they complain that their monthly pay was grown much into arrear; which when the Britons found means to ſatisfy, though alleging withal, that they to whom promiſe was made of wages were nothing ſo many in number: quieted with this a while, but ſtill ſeeking occaſion to fall off, they find fault next, that their pay is too ſmall for the danger they undergo, threatening open war unleſs it be augmented. Guortimer, the king's ſon, perceiving his father and the kingdom thus betrayed, from that time bends his utmoſt endeavour to drive them out. They on the other ſide making league with the Picts and Scots, and iſſuing out of Kent, waſted

* Gildas, Bed. Nenn.

without

without reſiſtance almoſt the whole land even to the weſtern ſea, with ſuch a horrid devaſtation, that towns and colonies overturned, prieſts and people ſlain, temples and palaces, what with fire and ſword, lay altogether heaped in one mixed ruin. Of all which multitude, ſo great was the ſinfulneſs that brought this upon them, Gildas adds, that few or none were likely to be other than lewd and wicked perſons. The reſidue of theſe, part overtaken in the mountains were ſlain; others ſubdued with hunger preferred ſlavery before inſtant death; ſome getting to rocks, hills, and woods inacceſſible, preferred the fear and danger of any death, before the ſhame of a ſecure ſlavery *; many fled over ſea into other countries; ſome into Holland, where yet remain the ruins of Brittenburgh, an old caſtle on the ſea, to be ſeen at low water not far from Leyden, either built, as writers of their own affirm, or ſeized on by thoſe Britons, in their eſcape from Hengiſt: † others into Armorica, peopled, as ſome think, with Britons long before, either by gift of Conſtantine the Great, or elſe of Maximus to thoſe Britiſh forces which had ſerved them in foreign wars ‡; to whom thoſe alſo that miſcarried not with the latter Conſtantine at Arles, and laſtly, theſe exiles driven out by Saxons, fled for refuge. But the ancient chronicles of thoſe provinces atteſt their coming thither to be then firſt when they fled the Saxons; and indeed the name of Britain in France is not read till after that time. Yet how a ſort of fugitives, who had quitted without ſtroke their own country, ſhould ſo ſoon win another, appears not, unleſs joined to ſome party of their own ſettled there before. § Vortigern, nothing bettered by theſe calamities, grew at laſt ſo obdurate as to commit inceſt with his daughter, tempted or tempting him out of an ambition to the crown. For which being cenſured and condemned in a great ſynod of clerks and laics, partly for fear of the Saxons, according to the counſel of his peers, he retired into Wales, and built him there a ſtrong caſtle in Radnorſhire ‖, by the advice of Ambroſius a young prophet, whom others call Merlin. Ne-

* Primord. p. 418. † Malmſ. l. 1. c. 1. ‡ Hunting. l. 1.
§ Nenn. Malmſb. ‖ Nenn.

verthelefs Fauſtus, who was the ſon thus inceſtuouſly begotten, under the inſtructions of German, or ſome of his diſciples; for German was dead before, proved a religious man, and lived in devotion by the river Remnis, in Glamorganſhire. * But the Saxons, though finding it ſo eaſy to ſubdue the iſle, with moſt of their forces, uncertain for what cauſe, returned home: whenas the eaſineſs of their conqueſt might ſeem rather likely to have called in more; which makes more probable that which the Britiſh write of Guortimer. † For he coming to reign, inſtead of his father depoſed for inceſt, is ſaid to have thrice driven and beſieged the Saxons in the iſle of Tanet; and when they iſſued out with powerful ſupplies ſent from Saxony, to have fought with them four other battles, whereof three are named; the firſt on the river Darwent, the ſecond at Episford, wherein Horſa the brother of Hengiſt fell, and on the Britiſh part Catigern the other ſon of Vortigern. The third in a field by Stonar, then called Lapis Tituli, in Tanet, where he beat them into their ſhips that bore them home, glad to have ſo eſcaped, and not venturing to land again for five years after. In the ſpace whereof Guortimer dying, commanded they ſhould bury him in the port of Stonar; perſuaded that his bones lying there would be terrour enough, to keep the Saxons from ever landing in that place: they, ſaith Nennius, neglecting his command, buried him in Lincoln. But concerning theſe times, ancienteſt annals of the Saxons relate in this manner. ‡ In the year four hundred and fifty-five, Hengiſt and Horſa fought againſt Vortigern, in a place called Egleſthrip, now Ailsford in Kent, where Horſa loſt his life, of whom Horſted, the place of his burial, took name.

After this firſt battle and the death of his brother, Hengiſt with his ſon Eſca took on him kingly title §, and peopled Kent with Jutes; who alſo then, or not long after, poſſeſſed the Iſle of Wight, and part of Hampſhire lying oppoſite. ‖ Two years after in a fight at Creganford, or Craford, Hengiſt and his ſon ſlew of the Britons four chief commanders, and as many thouſand men; the

* Gildas. † Nenn. ‡ Poſt. Chriſt. 455. Bede. Ethelwerd. Florent. Annal. Sax. § The kingdom of Kent. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 457.

reſt

reſt in great diſorder flying to London, with the total loſs of Kent. * And eight years paſſing between, he made new war on the Britons; of whom, in a battle at Wippeds-fleot, twelve princes were ſlain, and Wipped the Saxon earl, who left his name to that place, though not ſufficient to direct us where it now ſtands. † His laſt encounter was at a place not mentioned, where he gave them ſuch an overthrow, that flying in great fear they left the ſpoil of all to their enemies. And theſe perhaps are the four battles, according to Nennius, fought by Guortimer, though by theſe writers far differently related; and happening beſides many other bickerings, in the ſpace of twenty years, as Malmſbury reckons. Nevertheleſs it plainly appears that the Saxons, by whomſoever, were put to hard ſhifts, being all this while fought withal in Kent, their own allotted dwelling, and ſometimes on the very edge of the ſea, which the word Wippeds-fleot ſeems to intimate. ‡ But Guortimer now dead, and none of courage left to defend the land, Vortigern either by the power of his faction, or by conſent of all, reaſſumes the government: and Hengiſt thus rid of his grand oppoſer, hearing gladly the reſtorement of his old favourer, returns again with great forces; but to Vortigern, whom he well knew how to handle without warring, as to his ſon-in-law, now that the only author of diſſenſion between them was removed by death, offers nothing but all terms of new league and amity. The king, both for his wife's ſake and his own ſottiſhneſs, conſulting alſo with his peers not unlike himſelf, readily yields; and the place of parley is agreed on; to which either ſide was to repair without weapons. Hengiſt whoſe meaning was not peace, but treachery, appointed his men to be ſecretly armed, and acquainted them to what intent. § The watchword was, Nemet eour ſaxes, that is, Draw your daggers; which they obſerving, when the Britons were thoroughly heated with wine (for the treaty it ſeems was not without cups) and provoked, as was plotted, by ſome affront, diſpatched with thoſe poniards every one his next man, to the number of three hundred, the chief of thoſe that could do aught

* Poſt Chriſt. 465. † Poſt Chriſt. 473. ‡ Nennius. § Malmſ.

againſt him, either in counſel or in field. Vortigern they only bound and kept in cuſtody, until he granted them for his ranſom three provinces, which were called afterward Eſſex, Suſſex, and Middleſex. Who thus diſmiſſed, retiring again to his ſolitary abode in the country of Guorthigirniaun, ſo called by his name, from thence to the caſtle of his own building in North Wales, by the river Tiebi; and living there obſcurely among his wives, was at length burnt in his tower by fire from Heaven, at the prayer *, as ſome ſay, of German, but that coheres not; as others, by Ambroſius Aurelian; of whom, as we have heard at firſt, he ſtood in great fear, and partly for that cauſe invited in the Saxons. Who, whether by conſtraint or of their own accord, after much miſchief done, moſt of them returning back into their own country, left a fair opportunity to the Britons of avenging themſelves eaſier on thoſe who ſtaid behind. Repenting therefore, and with earneſt ſupplication imploring divine help to prevent their final rooting out, they gather from all parts, and under the leading of Ambroſius Aurelianus, a virtuous and modeſt man, the laſt here of the Roman ſtock, advancing now onward againſt the late victors, defeat them in a memorable battle. Common opinion, but grounded chiefly on the Britiſh fables, makes this Ambroſius to be a younger ſon of that Conſtantine, whoſe eldeſt, as we heard, was Conſtance the monk; who both loſt their lives abroad uſurping the empire. But the expreſs words both of Gildas and Bede aſſure us, that the parents of this Ambroſius having here born regal dignity, were ſlain in theſe Pictiſh wars and commotions in the iſland. And if the fear of Ambroſe induced Vortigern to call in the Saxons, it ſeems Vortigern uſurped his right. I perceive not that Nennius makes any difference between him and Merlin; for that child without father, that propheſied to Vortigern, he names not Merlin, but Ambroſe; makes him the ſon of a Roman conſul, but concealed by his mother, as fearing that the king therefore ſought his life: yet the youth no ſooner had confeſſed his parentage, but Vortigern either in reward of his predictions,

* Min. ex legend St. Ger. Galfrid. Monmouth.

or

or as his right, beſtowed upon him all the weſt of Britain; himſelf retiring to a ſolitary life. Whoſever ſon he was, he was the firſt *, according to ſureſt authors, that led againſt the Saxons, and overthrew them; but whether before this time or after, none have written. This is certain, that in a time when moſt of the Saxon forces were departed home, the Britons gathered ſtrength; and either againſt thoſe who were left remaining, or againſt their whole powers the ſecond time returning, obtained this victory. Thus Ambroſe as chief monarch of the iſle ſucceeded Vortigern; to whoſe third ſon Paſcentius he permitted the rule of two regions in Wales, Buelth and Guorthigirniaun. In his days, ſaith Nennius †, the Saxons prevailed not much: againſt whom Arthur, as being then chief general for the Britiſh kings, made great war, but more renowned in ſongs and romances, than in true ſtories. And the ſequel itſelf declares as much. For in the year four hundred and ſeventy ſeven ‡, Ella, the Saxon, with his three ſons, Cymen, Pleting, and Ciſſa, at a place in Suſſex called Cymenſhore, arrive in three ſhips, kill many of the Britons, chaſing them that remained into the wood Andreds Leage. § Another battle was fought at Mercreds-Burnamſted, wherein Ella had by far the victory; but ‖ Huntingdon makes it ſo doubtful, that the Saxons were conſtrained to ſend home for ſupplies. ¶ Four years after died Hengiſt, the firſt Saxon king of Kent; noted to have attained that dignity by craft, as much as valour, and giving ſcope to his own cruel nature, rather than proceeding by mildneſs or civility. His ſon Oeric, ſurnamed Oiſc, of whom the Kentiſh kings were called Oiſcings, ſucceeded him, and ſate content with his father's winnings, more deſirous to ſettle and defend, than to enlarge his bounds: he reigned twenty four years. ** By this time Ella and his ſon Ciſſa beſieging Andredcheſter, ſuppoſed now to be Newenden in Kent, take it by force, and all within it put to the ſword.

* Gildas. Bed. † Nenn. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 477. Sax. an. Ethelw. Florent. § Poſt Chriſt. 485. Florent. ‖ Huntingd. ¶ Poſt Chriſt. 489. Malmſ. Bed. l. 2. c. 5. ** Poſt Chriſt. 492. Camden.

Thus Ella, three years after the death of Hengiſt, began his kingdom of the South-Saxons *; peopling it with new inhabitants, from the country which was then Old Saxony, at this day Holſtein in Denmark, and had beſides at his command all thoſe provinces, which the Saxons had won on this ſide Humber †. Animated with theſe good ſucceſſes, as if Britain were become now the field of fortune, Kerdic another Saxon prince, the tenth by lineage from Woden ‡, an old and practiſed ſoldier, who in many proſperous conflicts againſt the enemy in thoſe parts had nurſed up a ſpirit too big to live at home with equals, coming to a certain place, which from thence took the name of Kerdic-ſhore §, with five ſhips, and Kenric his ſon, the very ſame day overthrew the Britons that oppoſed him; and ſo effectually, that ſmaller ſkirmiſhes after that day were ſufficient to drive them ſtill further off, leaving him a large territory. ‖ After him Porta another Saxon, with his two ſons Bida and Megla, in two ſhips arrive at Portſmouth thence called, and at their landing ſlew a young Britiſh nobleman, with many others who unadviſedly ſet upon them. ** The Britons to recover what they had loſt, draw together all their forces, led by Natanleod, or Nazaleod, a certain king in Britain, and the greateſt, ſaith one; but with him five thouſand of his men Kerdic puts to rout and ſlays. From whence the place in Hantſhire, as far as Kerdicsford, now Chardford, was called of old Nazaleod. Who this king ſhould be, hath bred much queſtion; ſome think it to be the Britiſh name of Ambroſe; others to be the right name of his brother, who for the terrour of his eagerneſs in fight, became more known by the ſurname of Uther, which in the Welch tongue ſignifies Dreadful. And if ever ſuch a king in Britain there was as Uther Pendragon, for ſo alſo the Monmouth book ſurnames him, this in all likelihood muſt be he. Kerdic by ſo great a blow given to the Britons had made large room about him; not only for the men he brought with him, but for ſuch

* The kingdom of South-Saxons. † Bed. l. 1. c. 15. & l. 2. c. 5. ‡ Sax. ann. omn. § Poſt Chriſt. 495. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 501. Sax. an. omn. Huntingdon. ** Poſt Chriſt. 508. Ann. omn. Huntingd. Camden. Uſſ. Primord.

alſo

alſo of his friends, as he deſired to make great; for which cauſe, and withal the more to ſtrengthen himſelf, his two nephews Stuff and Withgar, in three veſſels bring him new levies to Kerdic-ſhore *. Who, that they might not come ſluggiſhly to poſſeſs what others had won for them, either by their own ſeeking, or by appointment, are ſet in a place where they could not but at their firſt coming give proof of themſelves upon the enemy; and ſo well they did it, that the Britons after a hard encounter left them maſters of the field †. About the ſame time, Ella the firſt South-Saxon king died; whom Ciſſa, his youngeſt ſon, ſucceeded; the other two failing before him.

Nor can it be much more or leſs than about this time, for it was before the Weſt-Saxon kingdom, that Uffa, the eighth from Woden, made himſelf king of the Eaſt-Angles ‡; who by their name teſtify the country above mentioned; from whence they came in ſuch multitudes, that their native ſoil is ſaid to have remained in the days of Beda uninhabited §. Huntingdon defers the time of their coming in to the ninth year of Kerdic's reign: for, ſaith he ||, at firſt many of them ſtrove for principality, ſeizing every one his province, and for ſome while ſo continued, making petty wars among themſelves; ** till in the end Uffa, of whom thoſe kings were called Uffings, overtopped them all in the year five hundred and ſeventy one; †† then Titilus his ſon, the father of Redwald, who became potent.

And not much after the Eaſt-Angles, began alſo the Eaſt-Saxons to erect a kingdom under Sleda, the tenth from Woden. But Huntingdon, as before, will have it later by eleven years, and Erchenwin to be the firſt king.

Kerdic the ſame in power, though not ſo fond of title, forbore the name twenty four years after his arrival; but then founded ſo firmly the kingdom of Weſt-Saxons ‡‡, that it ſubjected all the reſt at length, and be-

* Poſt Chriſt. 514. An. omn. † Huntingdon. ‡ The kingdom of Eaſt-Angles. § Malmſb. l. 1. c. 5. Bed. l. 1. c. 15. || Huntingd. l. 2. p. 313, 315. ** Bed. l. 2. c. 15. †† Malmſ. l. 1. c. 6. ‡‡ Poſt Chriſt. 519.

came

came the ſole monarchy of England. The ſame year he had a victory againſt the Britons at Kerdic's ford, by the river Aven: and after eight years *, another great fight at Kerdic's leage, but which won the day is not by any ſet down. Hitherto have been collected what there is of certainty with circumſtance of time and place to be found regiſtered, and no more than barely regiſtered in annals of beſt note; without deſcribing after Huntingdon the manner of thoſe battles and encounters, which they who compare, and can judge of books, may be confident he never found in any current author, whom he had to follow. But this diſeaſe hath been incident to many more hiſtorians: and the age whereof we now write hath had the ill hap, more than any ſince the firſt fabulous times, to be ſurcharged with all the idle fancies of poſterity. Yet that we may not rely altogether on Saxon relaters, Gildas in antiquity far before theſe, and every way more credible, ſpeaks of theſe wars in ſuch a manner, though nothing conceited of the Britiſh valour, as declares the Saxons in his time and before to have been foiled not ſeldomer than the Britons. For beſides that firſt victory of Ambroſe, and the interchangeable ſucceſs long after, he tells that the laſt overthrow, which they received at Badon-hill, was not the leaſt; which they in their oldeſt annals mention not at all. And becauſe the time of this battle, by any who could do more than gueſs, is not ſet down, or any foundation given from whence to draw a ſolid compute, it cannot be much wide to inſert it in this place. For ſuch authors as we have to follow give the conduct and praiſe of this exploit to Arthur; and that this was the laſt of twelve great battles, which he fought victoriouſly againſt the Saxons. The ſeveral places written by Nennius in their Welch names † were many hundred years ago unknown, and ſo here omitted. But who Arthur was, and whether ever any ſuch reigned in Britain, hath been doubted heretofore, and may again with good reaſon. For the monk of Malmſbury, and others, whoſe credit hath ſwayed moſt with the learneder ſort, we may well perceive to have known no more of

* Sax. ann. omn. 527. † Nenn.

this

this Arthur five hundred years paſt, nor of his doings, than we, now living; and what they had to ſay, tranſcribed out of Nennius, a very trivial writer yet extant, which hath already been related; or out of a Britiſh book, the ſame which he of Monmouth ſet forth, utterly unknown to the world, till more than ſix hundred years after the days of Arthur, of whom (as Sigebert in his chronicle confeſſes) all other hiſtories were ſilent, both foreign and domeſtic, except only that fabulous book. Others of later time have ſought to aſſert him by old legends and cathedral regeſts. But he who can accept of legends for good ſtory, may quickly ſwell a volume with traſh, and had need be furniſhed with two only neceſſaries, leiſure and belief; whether it be the writer, or he that ſhall read. As to Arthur, no leſs is in doubt who was his father; for if it be true, as Nennius or his notiſt avers, that Arthur was called Mab-Uther, that is to ſay, a cruel ſon, for the fierceneſs that men ſaw in him of a child, and the intent of his name Arturus imports as much, it might well be that ſome in afterages, who ſought to turn him into a fable, wreſted the word Uther into a proper name, and ſo feigned him the ſon of Uther; ſince we read not in any certain ſtory, that ever ſuch perſon lived till Geoffrey of Monmouth ſet him off with the ſurname of Pendragon. And as we doubted of his parentage, ſo may we alſo of his puiſſance; for whether that victory at Badon-hill were his or no, is uncertain; Gildas not naming him, as he did Ambroſe in the former. Next, if it be true as Caradoc relates *, that Melvas, king of that country which is now Somerſet, kept from him Gueniver his wife a whole year in the town of Glaſton, and reſtored her at the entreaty of Gildas, rather than for any enforcement that Arthur with all his chivalry could make againſt a ſmall town defended only by a moory ſituation; had either his knowledge in war, or the force he had to make, been anſwerable to the fame they bear, that petty king had neither dared ſuch affront, nor he been ſo long, and at laſt without effect, in revenging it. Conſidering laſtly how

* Caradoc. Llancarvon. vit. Gild.

the

the Saxons gained upon him every where all the time of his ſuppoſed reign, which began, as ſome write *, in the tenth year of Kerdic, who wrung from him by long war the countries of Somerſet and Hampſhire; there will remain neither place nor circumſtance in ſtory, which may adminiſter any likelihood of thoſe great acts, that are aſcribed to him. † This only is alleged by Nennius in Arthur's behalf, that the Saxons, though vanquiſhed never ſo oft, grew ſtill more numerous upon him by continual ſupplies out of Germany. And the truth is, that valour may be overtoiled, and overcome at laſt with endleſs overcoming. But as for this battle of mount Badon, where the Saxons were hemmed in, or beſieged, whether by Arthur won, or whenſoever, it ſeems indeed to have given a moſt undoubted and important blow to the Saxons, and to have ſtopped their proceedings for a good while after. Gildas himſelf witneſſing, that the Britons, having thus compelled them to ſit down with peace, fell thereupon to civil diſcord among themſelves. Which words may ſeem to let in ſome light toward the ſearching out when this battle was fought. And we ſhall find no time ſince the firſt Saxon war, from whence a longer peace enſued, than from the fight at Kerdic's Leage, in the year five hundred and twenty ſeven, which all the chronicles mention, without victory to Kerdic; and give us argument from the cuſtom they have of magnifying their own deeds upon all occaſions, to preſume here his ill ſpeeding. And if we look ſtill onward, even to the forty fourth year after, wherein Gildas wrote, if his obſcure utterance be underſtood, we ſhall meet with every little war between the Britons and Saxons. ‡ This only remains difficult, that the victory firſt won by Ambroſe was not ſo long before this at Badon ſiege, but that the ſame men living might be eyewitneſſes of both; and by this rate hardly can the latter be thought won by Arthur, unleſs we reckon him a grown youth at leaſt in the days of Ambroſe, and much more than a youth, if Malmſbury be heard, who affirms all the exploits of Ambroſe to have been done chiefly by Arthur as his general, which will

* Malmſ. antiquit. Glaſton. Poſt Chriſt. 529. † Primord. p. 468. Polychronic. l. 5. c. 6. ‡ Gildas.

add

add much unbelief to the common aſſertion of his reigning after Ambroſe and Uther, eſpecially the fight of Badon being the laſt of his twelve battles. But to prove by that which follows, that the fight at Kerdic's Leage, though it differ in name from that of Badon, may be thought the ſame by all effects; Kerdic three years after *, not proceeding onward, as his manner was, on the continent, turns back his forces on the Iſle of Wight; which, with the ſlaying of a few only in Withgarburgh, he ſoon maſters; and not long ſurviving, left it to his nephews by the mother's ſide, Stuff and Withgar †: the reſt of what he had ſubdued, Kenric his ſon held; and reigned twenty ſix years, in whoſe tenth year ‡ Withgar was buried in the town of that iſland which bore his name. Notwithſtanding all theſe unlikelihoods of Arthur's reign and great achievements, in a narration crept in I know not how among the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, Arthur the famous king of Britons, is ſaid not only to have expelled hence the Saracens, who were not then known in Europe, but to have conquered Frieſland, and all the north-eaſt iſles as far as Ruſſia, to have made Lapland the eaſtern bound of his empire, and Norway the chamber of Britain. When ſhould this be done? From the Saxons, till after twelve battles, he had no reſt at home; after thoſe, the Britons, contented with the quiet they had from their Saxon enemies, were ſo far from ſeeking conqueſts abroad, that by report of Gildas above cited, they fell to civil wars at home. Surely Arthur much better had made war in old Saxony, to repreſs their flowing hither, than to have won kingdoms as far as Ruſſia, ſcarce able here to defend his own. Buchanan our neighbour hiſtorian reprehends him of Monmouth, and others, for fabling in the deeds of Arthur; yet what he writes thereof himſelf, as of better credit, ſhows not whence he had but from thoſe fables; which he ſeems content to believe in part, on condition that the Scots and Picts may be thought to have aſſiſted Arthur in all his wars, and achievements; whereof appears as little ground by credible ſtory, as of that which

* Poſt Chriſt. 530. Sax. an. omn. † Poſt Chriſt. 534. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 544.

he

he moſt counts fabulous. But not further to conteſt about ſuch uncertainties.

In the year five hundred and forty ſeven *, Ida the Saxon, ſprung alſo from Woden in the tenth degree, began the kingdom of Bernicia in Northumberland; built the town Bebenburgh, which was after walled; and had twelve ſons, half by wives and half by concubines. Hengiſt, by leave of Vortigern, we may remember, had ſent Octave and Ebiſſa, to ſeek them ſeats in the north, and there, by warring on the Picts, to ſecure the ſouthern parts. Which they ſo prudently effected, that what by force and fair proceeding, they well quieted thoſe countries; and though ſo far diſtant from Kent, nor without power in their hands, yet kept themſelves nigh a hundred and eighty years within moderation; and, as inferiour governours, they and their offspring gave obedience to the kings of Kent, as to the elder family. Till at length following the example of that age, when no leſs than kingdoms were the prize of every fortunate commander, they thought it but reaſon, as well as others of their nation, to aſſume royalty. Of whom Ida was the firſt †, a man in the prime of his years, and of parentage as we heard; but how he came to wear the crown, aſpiring or by free choice, is not ſaid. Certain enough it is, that his virtues made him not leſs noble than his birth; in war undaunted and unfoiled, in peace tempering the awe of magiſtracy with a natural mildneſs, he reigned about twelve years. ‡ In the mean while Kenric in a fight at Searesbirig, now Saliſbury, killed and put to flight many of the Britons; and the fourth year after at Beranvirig §, now Banbury, as ſome think, with Keaulin his ſon, put them again to flight. Keaulin ſhortly after ſucceeded his father in the Weſt-Saxons. And Alla, deſcended alſo of Woden, but of another line, ſet up a ſecond kingdom in Deira, the ſouth part of Northumberland ||, and held it thirty years; while Adda, the ſon of Ida, and five more after him reigned without other memory in Bernicia: and in Kent, Ethelbert the next year began **. But Eſca the

* Poſt Chriſt. 547. Annal. omn. Bed. Epit. Malmſb. † Malmſ. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 552. Annal. omn. § Poſt Chriſt. 556. Camden. || Poſt Chriſt. 560. Annal Florent. ** Poſt Chriſt. 561.

ſon

ſon of Hengiſt had left Otha, and he Emeric to rule after him; both which, without adding to their bounds, kept what they had in peace fifty three years. But Ethelbert in length of reign equalled both his progenitors, and as Beda counts, three years exceeded. * Young at his firſt entrance, and unexperienced, he was the firſt raiſer of civil war among the Saxons; claiming from the priority of time wherein Hengiſt took poſſeſſion here, a kind of right over the later kingdoms; and thereupon was troubleſome to their confines: but by them twice defeated, he who but now thought to ſeem dreadful, became almoſt contemptible. For Keaulin and Cutha his ſon, purſuing him into his own territory †, ſlew there in battle, at Wibbandun, two of his earls, Oſlac and Cneban. By this means the Britons, but chiefly by this victory at Badon, for the ſpace of forty four years, ending in five hundred and ſeventy one, received no great annoyance from the Saxons: but the peace they enjoyed, by ill uſing it, proved more deſtructive to them than war. For being raiſed on a ſudden by two ſuch eminent ſucceſſes, from the loweſt condition of thraldom, they whoſe eyes had beheld both thoſe deliverances, that by Ambroſe and this at Badon, were taught by the experience of either fortune, both kings, magiſtrates, prieſts, and private men, to live orderly. But when the next age ‡, unacquainted with paſt evils, and only ſenſible of their preſent eaſe and quiet, ſucceeded, ſtraight followed the apparent ſubverſion of all truth, and juſtice, in the minds of moſt men: ſcarce the leaſt footſtep, or impreſſion of goodneſs left remaining through all ranks and degrees in the land; except in ſome ſo very few, as to be hardly viſible in a general corruption: which grew in ſhort ſpace not only manifeſt, but odious to all the neighbouring nations. And firſt their kings, amongſt whom alſo the ſons or grandchildren of Ambroſe were foully degenerated to all tyranny and vicious life. Whereof to hear ſome particulars out of Gildas, will not be impertinent. They avenge, ſaith he, and they protect; not the innocent, but the guilty: they ſwear oft,

* Malmſ. † Ann. omn. Poſt Chriſt. 568. ‡ Gildas.

but

but perjure; they wage war, but civil and unjuſt war. They puniſh rigorouſly them that rob by the highway; but thoſe grand robbers, that ſit with them at table, they honour and reward. They give alms largely, but in the face of their almsdeeds, pile up wickedneſs to a far higher heap. They ſit in the ſeat of judgment, but go ſeldom by the rule of right; neglecting and proudly overlooking the modeſt and harmleſs, but countenancing the audacious, though guilty of abominable crimes; they ſtuff their priſons, but with men committed rather by circumvention than any juſt cauſe. Nothing better were the clergy, but at the ſame paſs, or rather worſe than when the Saxons came firſt in; unlearned, unapprehenſive, yet impudent; ſubtle prowlers, paſtors in name, but indeed wolves; intent upon all occaſions, not to feed the flock, but to pamper and well-line themſelves: not called, but ſeizing on the miniſtry as a trade, not as a ſpiritual charge; teaching the people not by ſound doctrine, but by evil example; uſurping the chair of Peter, but through the blindneſs of their own worldly luſts, they ſtumble upon the ſeat of Judas; deadly haters of truth, broachers of lies; looking on the poor chriſtian with eyes of pride and contempt; but fawning on the wickedeſt rich men without ſhame: great promoters of other men's alms, with their ſet exhortations; but themſelves contributing ever leaſt: ſlightly touching the many vices of the age, but preaching without end their own grievances, as done to Chriſt; ſeeking after preferments and degrees in the church, more than after Heaven; and ſo gained, made it their whole ſtudy how to keep them by any tyranny. Yet leſt they ſhould be thought things of no uſe in their eminent places, they have their niceties and trivial points to keep in awe the ſuperſtitious multitude; but in true ſaving knowledge leave them ſtill as groſs and ſtupid as themſelves; bunglers at the ſcripture, nay, forbidding and ſilencing them that know; but in worldly matters, practiſed and cunning ſhifters; in that only art and ſimony great clerks and maſters, bearing their heads high, but their thoughts abject and low. He taxes them alſo as gluttonous, incontinent, and daily drunkards. And what ſhouldſt

thou

thou expect from theſe, poor laity, ſo he goes on, theſe beaſts, all belly? Shall theſe amend thee, who are themſelves laborious in evil doings? Shall thou ſee with their eyes, who ſee right forward nothing but gain? Leave them rather, as bids our Saviour, leſt ye fall both blindfold into the ſame perdition. Are all thus? Perhaps not all, or not ſo groſsly. But what availed it Eli to be himſelf blameleſs, while he connived at others that were abominable? Who of them hath been envied for his better life? Who of them hath hated to conſort with theſe, or withſtood their entering the miniſtry, or endeavoured zealouſly their caſting out? Yet ſome of theſe perhaps by others are legended for great ſaints. This was the ſtate of government, this of religion among the Britons, in that long calm of peace, which the fight at Badon-hill had brought forth. Whereby it came to paſs, that ſo fair a victory came to nothing. Towns and cities were not reinhabited, but lay ruined and waſte; nor was it long ere domeſtic war breaking out waſted them more. For Britain *, as at other times, had then alſo ſeveral kings: five of whom Gildas, living then in Armorica at a ſafe diſtance, boldly reproves by name: firſt Conſtantine (fabled the ſon of Cador, duke of Cornwall, Arthur's half-brother, by the mother's ſide) who then reigned in Cornwall and Devon, a tyrannical and bloody king, polluted alſo with many adulteries: he got into his power two young princes of the blood royal, uncertain whether before him in right, or otherwiſe ſuſpected; and after ſolemn oath given of their ſafety the year that Gildas wrote, ſlew them with their two governors in the church, and in their mother's arms, through the abbot's cope which he had thrown over them, thinking by the reverence of his veſture to have withheld the murderer. Theſe are commonly ſuppoſed to be the ſons of Mordred, Arthur's nephew, ſaid to have revolted from his uncle, giving him in a battle his death's wound, and by him after to have been ſlain. Which things, were they true, would much diminiſh the blame of cruelty in Conſtantine, revenging Arthur

* Primord. p. 444.

on the ſons of ſo falſe a Mordred. In another part, but not expreſſed where, Aurelius Conanus was king: him he charges alſo with adulteries, and parricide; cruelties worſe than the former; to be a hater of his country's peace, thirſting after civil war and prey. His condition, it ſeems, was not very proſperous, for Gildas wiſhes him, being now left alone, like a tree withering in the midſt of a barren field, to remember the vanity and arrogance of his father, and elder brethren, who came all to untimely death in their youth. The third reigning in Demetia, or South Wales, was Vortipor, the ſon of a good father; he was, when Gildas wrote, grown old, not in years only, but in adulteries; and in governing, full of falſhood and cruel actions. In his latter days, putting away his wife, who died in divorce, he became, if we miſtake not Gildas, inceſtuous with his daughter. The fourth was Cuneglas, imbrued in civil war; he alſo had divorced his wife, and taken her ſiſter, who had vowed widowhood: he was a great enemy to the clergy, high-minded, and truſting to his wealth. The laſt, but greateſt of all in power, was Maglocune, and greateſt alſo in wickedneſs: he had driven out, or ſlain, many other kings, or tyrants, and was called the Iſland Dragon, perhaps having his ſeat in Angleſey; a profuſe giver, a great warrior, and of a goodly ſtature. While he was yet young, he overthrew his uncle, though in the head of a complete army, and took from him the kingdom: then touched with remorſe of his doings, not without deliberation, took upon him the profeſſion of a monk; but ſoon forſook his vow, and his wife alſo; which for that vow he had left, making love to the wife of his brother's ſon then living. Who not refuſing the offer, if ſhe were not rather the firſt that enticed, found means both to diſpatch her own huſband, and the former wife of Maglocune, to make her marriage with him the more unqueſtionable. Neither did he this for want of better inſtructions, having had the learnedeſt and wiſeſt man, reputed of all Britain, the inſtituter of his youth. Thus much, the utmoſt that can be learnt by truer ſtory, of what paſt among the Britons from the time of their uſeleſs victory at Badon, to the time that Gildas wrote,

wrote, that is to ſay, as may be gueſſed, from five hundred and twenty ſeven to five hundred and ſeventy one, is here ſet down altogether; not to be reduced under any certainty of years. But now the Saxons, who for the moſt part all this while had been ſtill, unleſs among themſelves, began afreſh to aſſault them, and ere long to drive them out of all which they had maintained on this ſide Wales. For Cuthulf, the brother of Keaulin *, by a victory obtained at Bedanford, now Bedford, took from them four good towns, Liganburgh, Egleſburgh, Benſington now Benſon in Oxfordſhire, and Igneſham; but outlived not many months his good ſucceſs. And after ſix years more †, Keaulin, and Cuthwin his ſon, gave them a great overthrow at Deorrham in Glouceſterſhire, ſlew three of their kings, Comail, Condidan, and Farinmaile; and took three of their chief cities, Glouceſter, Cirenceſter, and Badenceſter. The Britons notwithſtanding, after ſome ſpace of time ‡, judging to have outgrown their loſſes, gather to a head and encounter Keaulin, with Cutha his ſon, at Fethanleage; whom valiantly fighting, they ſlew among the thickeſt, and, as is ſaid, forced the Saxons to retire. § But Keaulin, reinforcing the fight, put them to a main rout; and following his advantage, took many towns, and returned laden with rich booty.

The laſt of thoſe Saxons, who raiſed their own achievements to a monarchy, was Crida, much about this time, firſt founder of the Mercian kingdom ‖, drawing alſo his pedigree from Woden. Of whom all to write the ſeveral genealogies, though it might be done without long ſearch, were in my opinion to encumber the ſtory with a ſort of barbarous names, to little purpoſe. ** This may ſuffice, that of Woden's three ſons, from the eldeſt iſſued Hengiſt, and his ſucceſſion; from the ſecond, the kings of Mercia; from the third, all that reigned in Weſt-Saxony, and moſt of the Northumbers, of whom Alla was one, the firſt king of Deira; which,

* Poſt Chriſt. 571. Camden. Annal. omn. † Poſt Chriſt. 577. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 584. § Huntingd. ‖ The kingdom of Mercia. Huntingd. Matt. Weſtm. ** Malmſb. l. 1. c. 3.

after his death, the race of Ida ſeized, and made it one kingdom with Bernicia*, uſurping the childhood of Edwin, Alla's ſon; whom Ethelric, the ſon of Ida expelled. Notwithſtanding others write of him, that from a poor life, and beyond hope in his old age, coming to the crown, he could hardly, by the acceſs of a kingdom, have overcome his former obſcurity, had not the fame of his ſon preſerved him. Once more the Britons †, ere they quitted all on this ſide the mountains, forgot not to ſhow ſome manhood; for meeting Keaulin at Woden's-beorth, that is to ſay, at Woden's-mount in Wiltſhire ‡; whether it were by their own forces, or aſſiſted by the Angles, whoſe hatred Keaulin had incurred, they ruined the whole army, and chaſed him out of his kingdom; from whence flying, he died the next year in poverty, who a little before was the moſt potent, and indeed ſole king of all the Saxons on this ſide Humber. But who was chief among the Britons in this exploit had been worth remembering, whether it were Maglocune, of whoſe proweſs hath been ſpoken, or Teudric king of Glamorgan, whom the regeſt of Landaff recounts to have been always victorious in fight; to have reigned about this time, and at length to have exchanged his crown for an hermitage; till in the aid of his ſon Mouric, whom the Saxons had reduced to extremes, taking arms again, he defeated them at Tinterne by the river Wye; but himſelf received a mortal wound. § The ſame year with Keaulin, whom Keola the ſon of Cuthulf, Keaulin's brother, ſucceeded, Crida alſo the Mercian king deceaſed, in whoſe room Wibba ſucceeded; and in Northumberland, Ethelfrid, in the room of Ethelric, reigning twenty-four years. Thus omitting fables, we have the view of what with reaſon can be relied on for truth, done in Britain ſince the Romans forſook it. Wherein we have heard the many miſeries and deſolations brought by divine hand on a perverſe nation; driven, when nothing elſe would reform them, out of a

* Florent. ad ann. Poſt Chriſt. 559. † Poſt Chriſt. 588. Annal. omn. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 592. Florent. Bed. l. 2. c. 3. Malmſ. Florent. Sax. ann. § Poſt Chriſt. 593.

fair country, into a mountainous and barren corner, by ſtrangers and pagans. So much more tolerable in the eye of Heaven is infidelity profeſſed, than chriſtian faith and religion diſhonoured by unchriſtian works. Yet they alſo at length renounced their heatheniſm; which how it came to paſs, will be the matter next related.

THE END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

THE

HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

THE Saxons grown up now to ſeven abſolute kingdoms, and the lateſt of them eſtabliſhed by ſucceſſion, finding their power arrive well nigh at the utmoſt of what was to be gained upon the Britons, and as little fearing to be diſplanted by them, had time now to ſurvey at leiſure one another's greatneſs. Which quickly bred among them either envy or mutual jealouſies; till the weſt kingdom at length grown overpowerful, put an end to all the reſt *. Meanwhile, above others, Ethelbert of Kent, who by this time had well ripened his young ambition, with more ability of years and experience in war, what before he attempted to his loſs, now ſucceſsfully attains: and by degrees brought all the other monarchies between Kent and Humber to be at his devotion. To which deſign the kingdom of Weſt Saxons, being the firmeſt of them all, at that time ſore ſhaken by their overthrow at Woden's-beorth, and the death of Keaulin, gave him, no doubt, a main advantage; the reſt yielded not ſubjection, but as he earned it by continual victories. † And to win him the more regard abroad, he marries Bertha the French king's daughter, though a chriſtian, and with this condition, to have the free exerciſe of her faith, under the care and inſtruction of Letardus a biſhop, ſent by her parents along with her; the king notwithſtanding and his people retaining their old religion. ‡ Beda out of Gildas lays it ſadly to the Britons charge, that they never would vouchſafe their Saxon neighbours the means of converſion; but how far to blame they were §, and what hope there was of converting in the midſt of ſo much hoſtility, at leaſt falſehood, from their firſt arrival, is not now eaſy to determine. ‖ Howbeit not long after they had the chriſtian

* Bed. Malmſ. † Bed. l. 1. c. 25. ‡ Bed. l. 1. c. 22.
§ Bed. l. 2. c. 1. ‖ Malmſ. l. 1. c. 3.

faith

faith preached to them by a nation more remote, and (as report went, accounted old in Beda's time) upon this occaſion.

The Northumbrians had a cuſtom at that time, and many hundred years after not aboliſhed, to ſell their children, for a ſmall value into any foreign land. Of which number two comely youths were brought to Rome, whoſe fair and honeſt countenances invited Gregory, archdeacon of that city, among others that beheld them, pitying their condition, to demand whence they were; it was anſwered by ſome who ſtood by, that they were Angli of the province Deira, ſubjects to Alla king of Northumberland; and by religion, Pagans. Which laſt Gregory deploring, framed on a ſudden this alluſion to the three names he heard; that the Angli ſo like to angels ſhould be ſnatched 'de ira,' that is, from the wrath of God, to ſing hallelujah: and forthwith obtaining licenſe, of Benedict the pope, had come and preached here among them, had not the Roman people, whoſe love endured not the abſence of ſo vigilant a paſtor over them, recalled him then on his journey, though but deferred his pious intention. * For a while after, ſucceeding in the papal ſeat, and now in his fourth year, admoniſhed, ſaith Beda, by divine inſtinct, he ſent Auguſtin, whom he had deſigned for biſhop of the Engliſh nation, and other zealous monks with him, to preach to them the goſpel. Who being now on their way, diſcouraged by ſome reports, or their own carnal fear, ſent back Auſtin, in the name of all, to beſeech Gregory they might return home, and not be ſent a journey ſo full of hazard, to a fierce and infidel nation, whoſe tongue they underſtood not. Gregory with pious and apoſtolic perſuaſions exhorts them not to ſhrink back from ſo good a work, but cheerfully to go on in the ſtrength of divine aſſiſtance. The letter itſelf, yet extant among our writers of eccleſiaſtic ſtory, I omit here, as not profeſſing to relate of thoſe matters more than what mixes aptly with civil affairs. The abbot Auſtin, for ſo he was ordained over the reſt, reincouraged by the exhortations

* Poſt Chriſt. 596.

of Gregory, and his fellows by the letter which he brought them, came ſafe to the iſle of Tanet*, in number about forty, beſides ſome of the French nation, whom they took along as interpreters. Ethelbert the king, to whom Auſtin at his landing had ſent a new and wondrous meſſage, that he came from Rome to proffer Heaven and eternal happineſs in the knowledge of another God than the Saxons knew, appoints them to remain where they had landed, and neceſſaries to be provided them, conſulting in the mean time what was to be done. And after certain days coming into the iſland, choſe a place to meet them under the open ſky, poſſeſſed with an old perſuaſion, that all ſpells, if they ſhould uſe any to deceive him, ſo it were not within doors, would be unavailable. They on the other ſide called to his preſence, advancing for their ſtandard a ſilver croſs, and the painted image of our Saviour, came ſlowly forward, ſinging their ſolemn litanies: which wrought in Ethelbert more ſuſpicion perhaps that they uſed enchantments; till ſitting down as the king willed them, they there preached to him, and all in that aſſembly, the tidings of ſalvation. Whom having heard attentively, the king thus anſwered: "Fair indeed and ample are the promiſes which ye bring, and ſuch things as have the appearance in them of much good; yet ſuch as being new and uncertain, I cannot eaſily aſſent to, quitting the religion which from my anceſtors, with all the Engliſh nation, ſo many years I have retained. Nevertheleſs becauſe ye are ſtrangers, and have endured ſo long a journey, to impart us the knowledge of things, which I perſuade me you believe to be the trueſt and the beſt, ye may be ſure, we ſhall not recompenſe you with any moleſtation, but ſhall provide rather how we may friendlieſt entertain ye; nor do we forbid whom ye can by preaching gain to your belief." And accordingly their reſidence he allotted them in Doroverne or Canterbury his chief city, and made proviſion for their maintenance, with free leave to preach their doctrine where they pleaſed. By which, and by the example of their holy life, ſpent in prayer, faſting, and

* Poſt Chriſt. 597.

continual

continual labour in the converſion of ſouls, they won many; on whoſe bounty and the king's, receiving only what was neceſſary, they ſubſiſted. There ſtood without the city on the eaſt ſide, an ancient church built in honour of St. Martin, while yet the Romans remained here: in which Bertha the queen went out uſually to pray: * here they alſo began firſt to preach, baptize, and openly to exerciſe divine worſhip. But when the king himſelf, convinced by their good life and miracles, became chriſtian, and was baptized, which came to paſs in the very firſt year of their arrival, then multitudes daily, conforming to their prince, thought it honour to be reckoned among thoſe of his faith. To whom Ethelbert indeed principally ſhowed his favour, but compelled none. † For ſo he had been taught by them who were both the inſtructors and the authors of his faith, that chriſtian religion ought to be voluntary, not compelled. About this time Kelwulf the ſon of Cutha, Keaulin's brother, reigned over the Weſt Saxons ‡, after his brother Keola or Kelric, and had continual war either with Engliſh, Welſh, Picts, or Scots. § But Auſtin, whom with his fellows Ethelbert had now endowed with a better place for their abode in the city, and other poſſeſſions neceſſary to livelihood, croſſing into France, was by the archbiſhop of Arles, at the appointment of pope Gregory, ordained archbiſhop of the Engliſh; and returning, ſent to Rome Laurence and Peter, two of his aſſociates, to acquaint the pope of his good ſucceſs in England, and to be reſolved of certain theological, or rather levitical queſtions: with anſwers to which, not proper in this place, Gregory ſends alſo to the great work of converting, that went on ſo happily, a ſupply of labourers, Mellitus, Juſtus, Paulinus, Rufinian, and many others; who what they were, may be gueſſed by the ſtuff which they brought with them, veſſels and veſtments for the altar, copes, reliques, and for the archbiſhop Auſtin a pall to ſay maſs in: to ſuch a rank ſuperſtition that age was grown, though ſome of them yet retaining an emulation

* Poſt Chriſt. 598. † Bed. l. 2. c. 5. ‡ Sax. ann. Malmſ. Poſt Chriſt. 601. § Bed. l. 1. c. 27.

of

of apoſtolic zeal. Laſtly, to Ethelbert they brought a letter with many preſents. Auſtin, thus exalted to archiepiſcopal authority, recovered from the ruins and other profane uſes a Chriſtian church in Canterbury, built of old by the Romans, which he dedicated by the name of Chriſt's church, and joining to it built a ſeat for himſelf and his ſucceſſors; a monaſtery alſo near the city eaſtward, where Ethelbert at his motion built St. Peter's, and enriched it with great endowments, to be a place of burial for the archbiſhops and kings of Kent: ſo quickly they ſtepped up into fellowſhip of pomp with kings. * While thus Ethelbert and his people had their minds intent, Ethelfrid the Northumbrian king was not leſs buſied in far different affairs: for being altogether warlike, and covetous of fame, he more waſted the Britons than any Saxon king before him; winning from them large territories, which either he made tributary, or planted with his own ſubjects. † Whence Edan king of thoſe Scots that dwelt in Britain, jealous of his ſucceſſes, came againſt him with a mighty army, to a place called Degſaſtan; but in the fight loſing moſt of his men, himſelf with a few eſcaped: only Theobald the king's brother, and the whole wing which he commanded, unfortunately cut off, made the victory to Ethelfrid leſs intire. Yet from that time no king of Scots in hoſtile manner durſt paſs into Britain for a hundred and more years after: and what ſome years before Kelwulf the Weſt Saxon is annalled to have done againſt the Scots and Picts, paſſing through the land of Ethelfrid a king ſo potent, unleſs in his aid and alliance, is not likely. Buchanan writes as if Ethelfrid, aſſiſted by Keaulin whom he miſtitles king of Eaſt Saxons, had before this time a battle with Aidan, wherein Cutha, Keaulin's ſon, was ſlain. But Cutha, as is above-written from better authority, was ſlain in fight againſt the Welſh twenty years before. ‡ The number of Chriſtians began now to increaſe ſo faſt, that Auguſtin, ordaining biſhops under him, two of his aſſiſtants Mellitus and Juſtus, ſent them out both to the work of their miniſtry.

* Bed. l. 2. c. 34. † Poſt Chriſt. 603. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 604. Bed. l. 2. c. 3.

And

And Mellitus by preaching converted the Eaſt Saxons, over whom Sebert the ſon of Sleda, by permiſſion of Ethelbert, being born of his ſiſter Ricula, then reigned. Whoſe converſion Ethelbert to gratulate, built them the great church of St. Paul in London to be their biſhop's cathedral; as Juſtus alſo had his built at Rocheſter, and both gifted by the ſame king with fair poſſeſſions. / Hitherto Auſtin laboured well among infidels, but not with like commendation ſoon after among chriſtians. For by means of Ethelbert ſummoning the Britain biſhops to a place on the edge of Worceſterſhire, called from that time Auguſtin's oak, he requires them to conform with him in the ſame day of celebrating Eaſter, and many other points wherein they differed from the rites of Rome: which when they refuſed to do, not prevailing by diſpute, he appeals to a miracle, reſtoring to ſight a blind man whom the Britons could not cure. At this ſomething moved, though not minded to recede from their own opinions without further conſultation, they requeſt a ſecond meeting: to which came ſeven Britain biſhops, with many other learned men, eſpecially from the famous monaſtery of Bangor, in which were ſaid to be ſo many monks, living all by their own labour, that being divided under ſeven rectors, none had fewer than three hundred. One man there was who ſtaid behind, a hermit by the life he led, who by his wiſdom effected more than all the reſt, who went: being demanded, for they held him as an oracle, how they might know Auſtin to be a man from God, that they might follow him, he anſwered, that if they found him meek and humble, they ſhould be taught by him, for it was likelieſt to be the yoke of Chriſt, both what he bore himſelf, and would have them bear; but if he bore himſelf proudly, that they ſhould not regard him, for he was then certainly not of God. They took his advice, and haſted to the place of meeting. Whom Auſtin, being already there before them, neither aroſe to meet, nor received in any brotherly ſort, but ſat all the while pontifically in his chair. Whereat the Britons, as they were counſelled by the holy man, neglected him, and neither hearkened to his propoſals of conformity, nor would acknowledge

knowledge him for an archbiſhop: and in the name of the reſt*, Dinothus, then abbot of Bangor, is ſaid thus ſagely to have anſwered him: "As to the ſubjection which you require, be thus perſuaded of us, that in the bond of love and charity we are all ſubjects and ſervants to the church of God, yea to the pope of Rome, and every good chriſtian to help them forward, both by word and deed, to be the children of God: other obedience than this we know not to be due to him whom you term the pope; and this obedience we are ready to give both to him and to every Chriſtian continually. Beſides, we are governed under God by the biſhop of Caerleon, who is to overſee us in ſpiritual matters." To which Auſtin thus preſaging, ſome ſay menacing, replies, "Since ye refuſe to accept of peace with your brethren, ye ſhall have war from your enemies; and ſince ye will not with us preach the word of life to whom ye ought, from their hands ye ſhall receive death." This, though writers agree not whether Auſtin ſpake it at his propheſy, or as his plot againſt the Britons, fell out accordingly. † For many years were not paſt, when Ethelfrid, whether of his own accord, or at the requeſt of Ethelbert, incenſed by Auſtin, with a powerful hoſt came to Weſtcheſter, then Caer-legion. Where being met by the Britiſh forces, and both ſides in readineſs to give the onſet, he diſcerns a company of men, not habited for war, ſtanding together in a place of ſome ſafety; and by them a ſquadron armed. Whom having learnt upon ſome inquiry to be prieſts and monks, aſſembled thither after three days faſting, to pray for the good ſucceſs of their forces againſt him, "therefore they firſt," ſaith he, "ſhall feel our ſwords; for they who pray againſt us, fight heavieſt againſt us by their prayers, and are our dangerouſeſt enemies." And with that turns his firſt charge upon the monks: Brocmail, the captain ſet to guard them, quickly turns his back, and leaves above twelve hundred monks to a ſudden maſſacre, whereof ſcarce fifty eſcaped. But not ſo eaſy work found Ethelfrid againſt another part of Britons that ſtood in arms, whom though at laſt he overthrew, yet with ſlaughter nigh as great to his own ſol-

* Spelman. Concil. p. 108. † Sax. ann. Hunting. Poſt Chriſt. 607.

diers.

diers. To excuſe Auſtin of this bloodſhed, leſt ſome might think it his revengeful policy, Beda writes, that he was dead long before, although if the time of his ſitting archbiſhop be right computed ſixteen years, he muſt ſurvive this action. * Other juſt ground of charging him with this imputation appears not, ſave what evidently we have from Geoffrey of Monmouth, whoſe weight we know. † The ſame year Kelwulf made war on the South Saxons, bloody, ſaith Huntingdon, to both ſides, but moſt to them of the ſouth: ‡ and four years after dying, left the government of Weſt Saxons to Kinegils and Cuichelm, the ſons of his brother Keola. Others, as Florent of Worceſter, and Matthew of Weſtminſter, will have Cuichelm ſon of Kinegils, but admitted to reign with his father, in whoſe third year § they are recorded with joint forces or conduct to have fought againſt the Britons in Beandune, now Bindon in Dorſetſhire, and to have ſlain of them above two thouſand. ‖ More memorable was the ſecond year following, by the death of Ethelbert the firſt chriſtian king of Saxons, and no leſs a favourer of all civility in that rude age. He gave laws and ſtatutes after the example of Roman emperors, written with the advice of his ſageſt counſellors, but in the Engliſh tongue, and obſerved long after. Wherein his ſpecial care was to puniſh thoſe who had ſtolen aught from church or churchman, thereby ſhewing how gratefully he received at their hands the chriſtian faith. Which, he no ſooner dead, but his ſon Eadbald took the courſe as faſt to extinguiſh; not only falling back into heatheniſm, but that which heatheniſm was wont to abhor, marrying his father's ſecond wife. Then ſoon was perceived what multitudes for fear or countenance of the king had profeſſed chriſtianity, returning now as eagerly to their old religion. Nor ſtaid the apoſtacy within one province, but quickly ſpread over to the Eaſt Saxons; occaſioned there likewiſe, or ſet forward by the death of their chriſtian king Sebert: whoſe three ſons, of whom two are named Sexted and Seward **, neither in his life-

* Malmſ. geſt. pont. l. 1. † Sax. ann. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 611. Sax. ann. Malm. § Poſt Chriſt. 614. Camd. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 616. Sax. an. ** Malmſ.

time

time would be brought to baptiſm, and after his deceaſe reeſtabliſhed the free exerciſe of idolatary; nor ſo content, they ſet themſelves in deſpight to do ſome open profanation againſt the other ſacrament. Coming therefore into the church were Mellitus the biſhop was miniſtering, they required him in abuſe and ſcorn to deliver to them unbaptized the conſecrated bread; and him refuſing drove diſgracefully out of their dominion. Who croſſed forthwith into Kent, where things were in the ſame plight, and thence into France, with Juſtus biſhop of Rocheſter. But divine vengeance deferred not long the puniſhment of men ſo impious; for Eadbald, vexed with an evil ſpirit, fell often into foul fits of diſtraction; and the ſons of Sebert, in a fight againſt the Weſt Saxons, periſhed with their whole army. But Eadbald, within the year, by an extraordinary means became penitent. For when Lawrence the archbiſhop and ſucceſſor of Auſtin was preparing to ſhip for France, after Juſtus and Mellitus, the ſtory goes, if it be worth believing, that St. Peter, in whoſe church he ſpent the night before in watching and praying, appeared to him, and to make the viſion more ſenſible, gave him many ſtripes for offering to deſert his flock; at ſight whereof the king (to whom next morning he ſhewed the marks of what he had ſuffered, by whom and for what cauſe) relenting and in great fear, diſſolved his inceſtuous marriage, and applied himſelf to the chriſtian faith more ſincerely than before, with all his people. But the Londoners, addicted ſtill to paganiſm, would not be perſuaded to receive again Mellitus their biſhop, and to compel them was not in his power. * Thus much through all the ſouth was troubled in religion, as much were the north parts diſquieted through ambition. For Ethelfrid of Bernicia, as was touched before, having thrown Edwin out of Deira, and joined that kingdom to his own, not content to have bereaved him of his right, whoſe known virtues and high parts gave cauſe of ſuſpicion to his enemies, ſends meſſengers to demand him of Redwald king of Eaſt Angles; under whoſe protection, after many years wandering obſcurely through all the iſland, he

* Poſt Chriſt. 617.

had

had placed his ſafety. Redwald, though having promiſed all defence to Edwin as to his ſuppliant, yet tempted with continual and large offers of gold, and not contemning the puiſſance of Ethelfrid, yielded at length, either to diſpatch him, or to give him into their hands: but earneſtly exhorted by his wife, not to betray the faith and inviolable law of hoſpitality and refuge given *, prefers his firſt promiſe as the more religious; nor only refuſes to deliver him, but ſince war was thereupon denounced, determines to be beforehand with the danger; and with a ſudden army raiſed, ſurpriſes Ethelfrid, little dreaming an invaſion, and in a fight near to the eaſt ſide of the river Idle, on the Mercian border, now Nottinghamſhire, ſlays him †, diſſipating eaſily thoſe few forces which he had got to march out overhaſtily with him; who yet, as a teſtimony of his fortune, not his valour to be blamed, ſlew firſt with his own hands Reiner the king's ſon. His two ſons Oſwald and Oſwi, by Acca, Edwin's ſiſter, eſcaped into Scotland. By this victory Redwald became ſo far ſuperiour to the other Saxon kings, that Beda reckons him the next after Ella and Ethelbert; who, beſides this conqueſt of the north, had likewiſe all on the hither-ſide Humber at his obedience. He had formerly in Kent received baptiſm ‡, but coming home, and perſuaded by his wife, who ſtill it ſeems was his chief counſellor to good or bad alike, relapſed into his old religion: yet not willing to forego his new, thought it not the worſt way, leſt perhaps he might err in either, for more aſſurance to keep them both; and in the ſame temple erected one altar to Chriſt, another to his idols. But Edwin, as with more deliberation he undertook, and with more ſincerity retained the chriſtian profeſſion, ſo alſo in power and extent of dominion far exceeded all before him; ſubduing all, ſaith Beda, Engliſh or Britiſh, even to the iſles, then called Mevanian, Angleſey, and Man; ſettled in his kingdom by Redwald, he ſought in marriage Edelburga, whom others call Tate, the daughter of Ethelbert. To whoſe embaſſadors Eadbald her brother made anſwer, that "to wed their daughter to a pagan, was not the chriſtian law." Edwin replied, that

*Malmſ. l. 1. c. 3. † Camden. ‡ Bed. l. 2. c. 15.

"to

" to her religion he would be no hinderance, which with her whole houſhold ſhe might freely exerciſe. And moreover, that if examined it were found the better, he would embrace it." Theſe ingenuous offers, opening ſo fair a way to the advancement of truth, are accepted *, and Paulinus as a ſpiritual guardian ſent along with the virgin. He being to that purpoſe made biſhop by Juſtus, omitted no occaſion to plant the Goſpel in thoſe parts, but with ſmall ſucceſs, till the next year † Cuichelm, at that time one of the two Weſt Saxon kings, envious of the greatneſs which he ſaw Edwin growing up to, ſent privily Eumerus a hired ſwordman to aſſaſſin him; who, under pretence of doing a meſſage from his maſter, with a poiſoned weapon ſtabs at Edwin, conferring with him in his houſe, by the river Derwent in Yorkſhire, on an Eaſter-day; which Lilla one of the king's attendants, at the inſtant perceiving, with a loyalty that ſtood not then to deliberate, abandoned his whole body to the blow; which notwithſtanding made paſſage through to the king's perſon, with a wound not to be ſlighted. The murderer encompaſſed now with ſwords, and deſperate, forerevenges his own fall with the death of another, whom his poniard reached home. Paulinus omitting no opportunity to win the king from miſbelief, obtained at length this promiſe from him; that if Chriſt, whom he ſo magnified, would give him to recover of his wound, and victory of his enemies who had thus aſſaulted him, he would then become chriſtian, in pledge whereof he gave his young daughter Eanfled, to be bred up in religion; who, with twelve others of his family, on the day of Pentecoſt was baptized. And by that time well recovered of his wound, to puniſh the authors of ſo foul a fact, he went with an army againſt the Weſt Saxons: whom having quelled by war, and of ſuch as had conſpired againſt him, put ſome to death, others pardoned, he returned home victorious, and from that time worſhipped no more his idols, yet ventured not raſhly into baptiſm, but firſt took care to be inſtructed rightly what he learnt, examining and ſtill conſidering with himſelf and others, whom he held wiſeſt; though Boniface the

* Poſt Chriſt. 626. † Poſt Chriſt. 625.

pope,

pope, by large letters of exhortation both to him and his queen, was not wanting to quicken his belief. But while he ſtill deferred, and his deferring might ſeem now to have paſſed the maturity of wiſdom to a faulty lingering, Paulinus by revelation, as was believed, coming to the knowledge of a ſecret which befel him ſtrangely in the time of his troubles, on a certain day went in boldly to him, and laying his right hand on the head of the king, aſked him if he remembered what that ſign meant; the king trembling, and in amaze riſing up, ſtraight fell at his feet. "Behold," ſaith Paulinus, raiſing him from the ground, "God hath delivered you from your enemies, and given you the kingdom as you deſired: perform now what long ſince you promiſed him, to receive his doctrine, which I now bring you, and the faith, which if you accept, ſhall to your temporal felicity add eternal." The promiſe claimed of him by Paulinus, how and wherefore made, though ſavouring much of legend, is thus related. Redwald, as we heard before, dazzled with the gold of Ethelfrid, or by his threatening overawed, having promiſed to yield up Edwin, one of his faithful companions, of which he had ſome few with him in the court of Redwald, that never ſhrunk from his adverſity, about the firſt hour of night comes in haſte to his chamber, and calling him forth for better ſecrecy, reveals to him his danger, offers him his aid to make eſcape; but that courſe not approved, as ſeeming diſhonourable without more manifeſt cauſe to begin diſtruſt towards one who had ſo long been his only refuge, the friend departs. Edwin left alone without the palace-gate, full of ſadneſs and perplexed thoughts, diſcerns about the dead of night a man neither by countenance nor by habit to him known, approaching towards him. Who after ſalutation aſked him, "why at this hour, when all others were at reſt, he alone ſo ſadly ſat waking on a cold ſtone." Edwin not a little miſdoubting who he might be, aſked him again, "what his ſitting within doors, or without, concerned him to know." To whom he again, "Think not that who thou art, or why ſitting here, or what danger hangs over thee, is to me unknown: but what would you promiſe to that man, whoever would befriend

you out of all theſe troubles, and perſuade Redwald to the like?" "All that I am able," anſwered Edwin. And he, "What if the ſame man ſhould promiſe to make you greater than any Engliſh king hath been before you?" "I ſhould not doubt," quoth Edwin, "to be anſwerably grateful." "And what if to all this he would inform you," ſaid the other, "in a way to happineſs, beyond what any of your anceſtors hath known? would you hearken to his council?" Edwin without ſtopping promiſed "he would." And the other laying his right hand on Edwin's head, "When this ſign," ſaith he, "ſhall next befal thee, remember this time of night, and this diſcourſe, to perform what thou haſt promiſed;" and with theſe words diſappearing, he left Edwin much revived, but not leſs filled with wonder, who this unknown ſhould be. When ſuddenly the friend who had been gone all this while to liſten further what was like to be decreed of Edwin, comes back and joyfully bids him riſe to his repoſe, for that the king's mind, though for a while drawn aſide, was now fully reſolved not only not to betray him, but to defend him againſt all enemies, as he had promiſed. This was ſaid to be the cauſe why Edwin admoniſhed by the biſhop of a ſign which had befallen him ſo ſtrangely, and as he thought ſo ſecretly, aroſe to him with that reverence and amazement, as to one ſent from Heaven, to claim that promiſe of him which he perceived well was due to a divine power, that had aſſiſted him in his troubles. To Paulinus therefore he makes anſwer, that the chriſtian belief he himſelf ought by promiſe, and intended to receive; but would confer firſt with his chief peers and counſellors, that if they likewiſe could be won, all at once might be baptized. They therefore being aſked in council what their opinion was concerning this new doctrine, and well perceiving which way the king inclined, every one thereafter ſhaped his reply. The chief prieſt, ſpeaking firſt, diſcovered an old grudge he had againſt his gods, for advancing others in the king's favour above him their chief prieſt: another hiding his court-compliance with a grave ſentence, commended the choice of certain before uncertain, upon due examination; to like purpoſe an-

ſwered all the reſt of his ſages, none openly diſſenting from what was likely to be the king's creed: whereas the preaching of Paulinus could work no ſuch effect upon them, toiling till that time without ſucceſs. Whereupon Edwin, renouncing heatheniſm, became chriſtian: and the pagan prieſt, offering himſelf freely to demoliſh the altars of his former gods, made ſome amends for his teaching to adore them. * With Edwin, his two ſons Oſfrid and Eanfrid, born to him by Quenburga, daughter, as ſaith Beda, of Kearle king of Mercia, in the time of his baniſhment, and with them moſt of the people, both noble and commons, eaſily converted, were baptized; he with his whole family at York, in a church haſtily built up of wood, the multitude moſt part in rivers. Northumberland thus chriſtened, Paulinus, croſſing Humber, converted alſo the province of Lindſey, and Blecca the governor of Lincoln, with his houſehold and moſt of that city; wherein he built a church of ſtone, curiouſly wrought, but of ſmall continuance; for the roof in Beda's time, uncertain whether by neglect or enemies, was down; the walls only ſtanding. Meanwhile in Mercia, Kearle, a kinſman of Wibba, ſaith Huntingdon, not a ſon, having long withheld the kingdom from Penda, Wibba's ſon, left it now at length to the fiftieth year of his age: with whom Kinegils and Cuichelm, the Weſt-Saxon kings, two years after †, having by that time it ſeems recovered ſtrength, ſince the inroad made upon them by Edwin, fought at Cirenceſter, then made truce. But Edwin ſeeking every way to propagate the faith, which with ſo much deliberation he had received, perſuaded Eorpwald, the ſon of Redwald, king of Eaſt-Angles, to embrace the ſame belief ‡; willingly or in awe, is not known, retaining under Edwin the name only of a king. § But Eorpwald, not long ſurvived his converſion, ſlain in fight by Ricbert a pagan: whereby the people having lightly followed the religion of their king, as lightly fell back to their old ſuperſtitions for above three years after: Edwin in the mean while, to his faith adding virtue, by the due adminiſtration of juſtice

* Poſt Chriſt. 627. † Poſt Chriſt. 629. Sax. ann. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 632. Sax. ann. § Florent. Genealog.

wrought ſuch peace over all his territories, that from ſea to ſea man or woman might have travelled in ſafety. His care alſo was of fountains by the way ſide, to make them fitteſt for the uſe of travellers. And not unmindful of regal ſtate, whether in war or in peace, he had a royal banner carried before him. But having reigned with much honour ſeventeen years, he was at length by Kedwallay or Cadwallon, king of the Britons, who with aid of the Mercian Penda had rebelled againſt him, ſlain in a battle with his ſon Oſfrid, at a place called Hethfield, and his whole army overthrown or diſperſed in the year ſix hundred and thirty three *, and the forty-ſeventh of his age, in the eye of man worthy a more peaceful end. His head brought to York was there buried in the church by him begun. Sad was this overthrow, both to church and ſtate of the Northumbrians: for Penda being a heathen, and the Britiſh king, though in name a chriſtian, but in deeds more bloody than the pagan, nothing was omitted of barbarous cruelty in the ſlaughter of ſex or age; Kedwalla threatening to root out the whole nation, though then newly chriſtian. For the Britons, and, as Beda ſaith, even to his days, accounted Saxon chriſtianity no better than paganiſm, and with them held as little communion. From theſe calamities no refuge being left but flight, Paulinus taking with him Ethilburga the queen and her children, aided by Baſſus, one of Edwin's captains, made eſcape by ſea to Eadbald king of Kent: who receiving his ſiſter with all kindneſs, made Paulinus biſhop of Rocheſter, where he ended his days. After Edwin, the kingdom of Northumberland became divided as before, each rightful heir ſeizing his part; in Deira Oſric, the ſon of Elfric, Edwin's uncle, by profeſſion a chriſtian, and baptized by Paulinus: in Bernicia, Eanfrid the ſon of Ethelfrid; who all the time of Edwin, with his brother Oſwald, and many of the young nobility, lived in Scotland exiled, and had been there taught and baptized. No ſooner had they gotten each a kingdom, but both turned recreant, ſliding back into their old religion; and both were the ſame year ſlain; Oſric by a ſudden eruption of

* Poſt Chriſt. 633.

Kedwalla,

Kedwalla, whom he in a ſtrong town had unadviſedly beſieged; Eanfrid ſeeking peace, and inconſiderately with a few ſurrendering himſelf. Kedwalla now ranged at will through both thoſe provinces, uſing cruelly his conqueſt*; when Oſwald the brother of Eanfrid with a ſmall but chriſtian army unexpectedly coming on, defeated and deſtroyed both him and his huge forces, which he boaſted to be invincible, by a little river running into Tine, near the ancient Roman wall then called Deniſburn, the place afterwards Heaven-field, from the croſs reported miracles for cures, which Oſwald there erected before the battle, in token of his faith againſt the great number of his enemies. Obtaining the kingdom he took care to inſtruct again the people in chriſtianity. Sending therefore to the Scottiſh elders, Beda ſo terms them, among whom he had received baptiſm, requeſted of them ſome faithful teacher, who might again ſettle religion in his realm, which the late troubles had much impaired; they, as readily hearkening to his requeſt, ſend Aidan, a Scotch monk and biſhop, but of ſingular zeal and meekneſs, with others to aſſiſt him, whom at their own deſire he ſeated in Lindisfarne, as the epiſcopal ſeat, now Holy Iſland: and being the ſon of Ethelfrid, by the ſiſter of Edwin, as right heir, others failing, eaſily reduced both kingdoms of Northumberland as before into one; nor of Edwin's dominion loſt any part, but enlarged it rather; over all the four Britiſh nations, Angles, Britons, Picts, and Scots, exerciſing regal authority. Of his devotion, humility, and almsdeeds, much is ſpoken; that he diſdained not to be the interpreter of Aidan, preaching in Scotch or bad Engliſh, to his nobles and houſehold ſervants; and had the poor continually ſerved at his gate, after the promiſcuous manner of thoſe times: his meaning might be upright, but the manner more ancient of private or of church-contribution is doubtleſs more evangelical. † About this time the Weſt-Saxons, anciently called Geviſſi, by the preaching of Berinus, a biſhop, whom pope Honorius had ſent, were converted to the faith with Kinegils their king: him Oſwald received out of the font, and his daughter in marriage.

* Poſt Chriſt. 634. † Poſt Chriſt. 635. Sax. an.

* The next year Cuichelm was baptized in Dorcheſter, but lived not to the year's end. The Eaſt-Angles alſo this year were reclaimed to the faith of Chriſt, which for ſome years paſt they had thrown off. But Sigbert the brother of Eorpwald now ſucceeded in that kingdom, praiſed for a moſt chriſtian and learned man: who while his brother yet reigned, living in France an exile, for ſome diſpleaſure conceived againſt him by Redwald his father, learned there the chriſtian faith; and reigning ſoon after, in the ſame inſtructed his people, by the preaching of Felix a Burgundian biſhop.

† In the year ſix hundred and forty Eadbold deceaſing, left to Ercombert, his ſon by Emma the French king's daughter, the kingdom of Kent; recorded the firſt of Engliſh kings, who commanded through his limits the deſtroying of idols; laudably, if all idols without exception; and the firſt to have eſtabliſhed Lent among us, under ſtrict penalty; not worth remembering, but only to inform us, that no Lent was obſerved here till his time by compulſion: eſpecially being noted by ſome to have fraudulently uſurped upon his elder brother Ermenred §, whoſe right was precedent to the crown. Oſwald having reigned eight years ‖, worthy alſo as might ſeem of longer life, fell into the ſame fate with Edwin, and from the ſame hand, in a great battle overcome and ſlain by Penda, at a place called Maſerfield, now Oſweſtre in Shropſhire ‡, miraculous, as ſaith Beda, after his death. ** His brother Oſwi ſucceeded him; reigning, though in much trouble, twenty-eight years; oppoſed either by Penda, or his own ſon Alfred, or his brother's ſon Ethilwald. †† Next year Kinegils the Weſt-Saxon king dying left his ſon Kenwalk in his ſtead, though as yet unconverted. About this time Sigebert king of Eaſt-Angles having learnt in France, ere his coming to reign, the manner of their ſchools, with the aſſiſtance of ſome teachers out of Kent inſtituted a ſchool here after the ſame diſcipline, thought to be the univerſity of Cambridge, then firſt founded; and at length

* Poſt Chriſt. 636. † Poſt Chriſt. 640. § Mat. Weſt. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 642. ‡ Camden. ** Bed. l. 3. c. 14. †† Poſt Chriſt. 643. Sax. an.

weary

weary of his kingly office, betook him to a monaſtical life; commending the care of government to his kinſman Egric, who had ſuſtained with him part of that burden before. It happened ſome years after, that Penda made war on the Eaſt-Angles: they expecting a ſharp encounter, beſought Sigebert, whom they eſteemed an expert leader, with his preſence to confirm the ſoldiery; and him refuſing, carried by force out of the monaſtery into the camp; where acting the monk rather than the captain, with a ſingle wand in his hand, he was ſlain with Egric, and his whole army put to flight. Anna of the royal ſtock, as next in right, ſucceeded; and hath the praiſe of a virtuous and moſt chriſtian prince. * But Kenwalk the Weſt-Saxon having married the ſiſter of Penda, and divorced her, was by him with more appearance of a juſt cauſe vanquiſhed in fight, and deprived of his crown: whence retiring to Anna king of Eaſt-Angles, after three years abode in his court † he there became chriſtian, and afterwards regained his kingdom. Oſwi in the former years of his reign had ſharer with him Oſwin, nephew of Edwin, who ruled in Deira ſeven years, commended much for his zeal in religion, and for comelineſs of perſon, with other princely qualities, beloved of all. Notwithſtanding which, diſſenſions growing between them, it came to arms. Oſwin ſeeing himſelf much exceeded in numbers, thought it more prudence, diſmiſſing his army, to reſerve himſelf for ſome better occaſion. But committing his perſon with one faithful attendant to the loyalty of Hunwald an earl, his imagined friend, he was by him treacherouſly diſcovered, and by command of Oſwi ſlain. § After whom within twelve days, and for grief of him whoſe death he foretold, died biſhop Aidan, famous for his charity, meekneſs, and labour in the goſpel. The fact of Oſwi was deteſtable to all; which therefore to expiate, a monaſtery was built in the place where it was done, and prayers there daily offered up for the ſouls of both kings, the ſlain and the ſlayer. Kenwalk, by this time re-inſtalled in his kingdom, kept it long, but with various

* Poſt Chriſt. 645. Sax. an. † Poſt Chriſt. 648. § Poſt Chriſt. 651. Bede.

fortune; for Beda relates him ofttimes afflicted by his enemies*, with great loſſes: and in ſix hundred and fifty two, by the annals, fought a battle (civil war Ethelwerd calls it) at Bradanford by the river Afene; againſt whom, and for what cauſe, or who had the victory, they write not. Camden names the place Bradford in Wiltſhire, by the river Avon, and Cuthred his near kinſman, againſt whom he fought, but cites no authority; certain it is, that Kenwalk four years before had given large poſſeſſions to his nephew Cuthred, the more unlikely therefore now to have rebelled.

† The next year Peada, whom his father Penda, though a heathen, had for his princely virtues made prince of Middle-Angles, belonging to the Mercians, was with that people converted to the faith. For coming to Oſwi with requeſt to have in marriage Alfleda his daughter, he was denied her, but on condition that he with all his people ſhould receive chriſtianity. Hearing therefore not unwillingly what was preached to him of reſurrection and eternal life, much perſuaded alſo by Alfrid the king's ſon, who had his ſiſter Kyniburg to wife, he eaſily aſſented, for the truth's ſake only as he profeſſed, whether he obtained the virgin or no, and was baptized with all his followers. Returning, he took with him four preſbyters to teach the people of his province; who by their daily preaching won many. Neither did Penda, though himſelf no believer, prohibit any in his kingdom to hear or believe the goſpel, but rather hated and deſpiſed thoſe, who, profeſſing to believe, atteſted not their faith by good works; condemning them for miſerable and juſtly to be deſpiſed, who obey not that God, in whom they chooſe to believe. How well might Penda, this heathen, riſe up in judgment againſt many pretended chriſtians, both of his own and theſe days! yet being a man bred up to war (as no leſs were others then reigning, and ofttimes one againſt another, though both Chriſtians) he warred on Anna king of the § East-Angles, perhaps without cauſe, for Anna was eſteemed a juſt man, and at length ſlew him. About this time the

* Bed. l. 3. c. 7. Poſt Chriſt. 652. † Poſt Chriſt. 653. § Poſt Chriſt. 654. Sax. an.

East-

Eaſt-Saxons, who, as above hath been ſaid, had expelled their biſhop Mellitus, and renounced the faith, were by the means of Oſwi thus reconverted. Sigebert, ſurnamed the ſmall, being the ſon of Seward, without other memory of his reign, left his ſon king of that province, after him Sigebert the ſecond; who coming often to viſit Oſwi his great friend, was by him at ſeveral times fervently diſſuaded from idolatry, and convinced at length to forſake it, was there baptized; on his return home taking with him Kedda a laborious preacher, afterwards made biſhop; by whoſe teaching, with ſome help of others, the people were again recovered from miſbelief. But Sigebert ſome years after, though ſtanding faſt in religion, was by the conſpiracy of two brethren, in place near about him, wickedly murdered; who being aſked, "What moved them to a deed ſo heinous," gave no other than this barbarous anſwer; "That they were angry with him for being ſo gentle to his enemies, as to forgive them their injuries whenever they beſought him." Yet his death ſeems to have happened not without ſome cauſe by him given of divine diſpleaſure. For one of thoſe earls who ſlew him, living in unlawful wedlock, and therefore excommunicated ſo ſeverely by the biſhop, that no man might preſume to enter into his houſe, much leſs to ſit at meat with him, the king not regarding this church-cenſure, went to feaſt with him at his invitation. Whom the biſhop meeting in his return, though penitent for what he had done, and fallen at his feet, touched with the rod in his hand, and angrily thus foretold: "Becauſe thou haſt neglected to abſtain from the houſe of that excommunicate, in that houſe thou ſhalt die;" and ſo it fell out, perhaps from that prediction, God bearing witneſs to his miniſter in the power of church-diſcipline, ſpiritually executed, not juridically on the contemner thereof. This year * 655 proved fortunate to Oſwi, and fatal to Penda; for Oſwi by the continual inroads of Penda having long endured much devaſtation, to the endangering once by aſſault and fire Bebbanburg†, his ſtrongeſt city, now Bamborrow-caſtle, unable to reſiſt him, with many rich preſents offered to

* Poſt Chriſt. 655. † Bed. l. 3. c. 16.

buy

buy his peace, which not accepted by the pagan *, who intended nothing but deſtruction to that king, though more than once in affinity with him, turning gifts into vows, he implores divine aſſiſtance, devoting, if he were delivered from his enemy, a child of one year old, his daughter, to be a nun, and twelve portions of land whereon to build monaſteries. His vows, as may be thought, found better ſucceſs than his proffered gifts; for hereupon with his ſon Alfrid, gathering a ſmall power, he encountered and diſcomfited the Mercians, thirty times exceeding his in number, and led on by expert captains †, at a place called Laydes, now Leeds in Yorkſhire. Beſides this Ethelwald, the ſon of Oſwald, who ruled in Deira, took part with the Mercians; but in the fight withdrew his forces, and in a ſafe place expected the event: with which unſeaſonable retreat the Mercians, perhaps terrified and miſdoubting more danger, fled; their commanders, with Penda himſelf, moſt being ſlain, among whom Edilhere the brother of Anna, who ruled after him the Eaſt-Angles, and was the author of this war; many more flying were drowned in the river, which Beda calls Winwed, then ſwoln above its banks §. The death of Penda, who had been the death of ſo many good kings, made general rejoicing, as the ſong witneſſed. At the river Winwed, Anna was avenged. To Edelhere ſucceeded Ethelwald his brother, in the Eaſt-Angles; to Sigebert in the Eaſt-Saxons, Suidhelm the ſon of Sexbald, ſaith Bede ||, the brother of Sigebert, ſaith Malmſbury; he was baptized by Kedda, then reſiding in the Eaſt-Angles, and by Ethelwald the king received out of the font. But Oſwi in the ſtrength of his late victory, within ‡ three years after ſubdued all Mercia, and of the Pictiſh nation greateſt part, at which time he gave to Peada his ſon-in-law the kingdom of South-Mercia, divided from the Northern by Trent. But Peada the ſpring following, as was ſaid, by the treaſon of his wife the daughter of Oſwi, married by him for a ſpecial chriſtian, on the feaſt of Eaſter **, not protected by the holy time, was ſlain. The Mercian nobles, Immin, Eaba,

* Camd. † Camden. § Mat. Weſt. || Bed. l. 3. c. 22.
‡ Poſt Chriſt. 658. Sax. ann. ** Poſt Chriſt. 659. Sax. ann.

and

and Eadbert, throwing off the government of Oſwi, ſet up Wulfer the other ſon of Penda to be their king, whom till then they had kept hid, and with him adhered to the chriſtian faith. Kenwalk the Weſt-Saxon, now ſettled at home, and deſirous to enlarge his dominion, prepares againſt the Britons, joins battle with them at Pen in Somerſetſhire, and overcoming, purſues them to Pedridan. Another fight he had with them before, at a place called Witgorneſburg, barely mentioned by the monk of Malmſbury. Nor was it long ere he fell at variance with Wulfer the ſon of Penda, his old enemy, ſcarce yet warm in his throne, fought with him at Poſſenteſburg, on the Eaſter holydays *, and as Ethelwerd ſaith, took him priſoner; but the Saxon annals, quite otherwiſe, that Wulfer winning the field, waſted the Weſt-Saxon country as far as Eſkeſdun; nor ſtaying there, took and waſted the iſle of Wight, but cauſing the inhabitants to be baptized, till then unbelievers, gave the iſland to Ethelwald king of South-Saxons, whom he had received out of the font. The year † ſix hundred and ſixty four a ſynod of Scottiſh and Engliſh biſhops, in the preſence of Oſwi and Alfred his ſon, was held at a monaſtery in thoſe parts, to debate on what day Eaſter ſhould be kept; a controverſy which long before had diſturbed the Greek and Latin churches: wherein the Scots not agreeing with the way of Rome; nor yielding to the diſputants on that ſide, to whom the king moſt inclined, ſuch as were biſhops here, reſigned, and returned home with their diſciples. Another clerical queſtion was there alſo much controverted, not ſo ſuperſtitious in my opinion as ridiculous, about the right ſhaving of crowns. The ſame year was ſeen an eclipſe of the ſun in May, followed by a ſore peſtilence beginning in the South §, but ſpreading to the North, and over all Ireland with great mortality. In which time the Eaſt-Saxons, after Swithelm's deceaſe, being governed by Siger the ſon of Sigebert the ſmall, and Sebbi of Seward, though both ſubject to the Mercians; Siger and his people unſteady of faith, ſuppoſing that this plague was come upon them for renouncing their old religion, fell off the ſecond time to infidelity. Which

* Poſt Chriſt. 661. Sax. ann. † Poſt Chriſt. 664. Bed. § Malmſ.

the

the Mercian king Wulfer underſtanding, ſent Jarumannus a faithful biſhop, who with other his fellow-labourers, by ſound doctrine and gentle dealing, ſoon recured them of their ſecond relapſe. In Kent, Ercombert expiring, was ſucceeded by his ſon Ecbert. In whoſe fourth year *, by means of Theodore, a learned Greekiſh monk of Tarſus, whom pope Vitalian had ordained archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Greek and Latin tongue, with other liberal arts, arithmetic, muſick, aſtronomy, and the like, began firſt to flouriſh among the Saxons; as did alſo the whole land, under potent and religious kings, more than ever before, as Bede affirms, till his own days. Two years † after in Northumberland died Oſwi, much addicted to Romiſh rites, and reſolved, had his diſeaſe releaſed him, to have ended his days at Rome. Ecfrid, the eldeſt of his ſons begot in wedlock, ſucceeded him. After other ‡ three years, Ecbert in Kent deceaſing, left nothing memorable behind him, but the general ſuſpicion to have ſlain or connived at the ſlaughter of his uncle's two ſons, Elbert and Egelbright. In recompenſe whereof he gave to the § mother of them part of Tanet, wherein to build an abbey; the kingdom fell to his brother Lothair. And much about this time by beſt account it ſhould be, however placed in Beda ‖, that Ecfrid of Northumberland, having war with the Mercian Wulfer, won from him Lindſey, and the country thereabout. Sebbi having reigned over the Eaſt-Saxons thirty years, not long before his death, though long before deſiring, took on him the habit of a monk; and drew his wife at length, though unwilling, to the ſame devotion. Kenwalk alſo dying left the government to Sexburga his wife, who outlived him in it but one year, driven out, ſaith Mat. Weſtm. by the nobles diſdaining female government. ** After whom ſeveral petty kings, as Beda calls them, for ten years ſpace divided the Weſt-Saxons; others name two, Eſcwin the nephew of Kinegils, and Kentwin the ſon, not petty by their deeds ††:

* Poſt Chriſt. 668. Sax. ann. † Poſt Chriſt. 670. Sax. an.
‡ Poſt Chriſt. 673. Sax. an. § Malmſ. ‖ Bed. l. 4. c. 12.
** Poſt Chriſt. 674. Bed. l. 4. c. 12. †† Sax. an.

for

for Eſcwin fought a battle with Wulfer *, at Bedanhafde, and about a year after both deceaſed; but Wulfer not without a ſtain left behind him of ſelling the biſhoprick of London to Wini; the firſt ſimoniſt we read of in this ſtory: Kenwalk had before expelled him from his chair at Wincheſter. Ethelred, the brother of Wulfer, obtaining next the kingdom of Mercia, not only recovered Lindſey, and what beſides in thoſe parts Wulfer had loſt to Ecfrid ſome years before, but found himſelf ſtrong enough to extend his arms another way, as far as Kent, waſting that country without reſpect to church or monaſtery †, much alſo endamaging the city of Rocheſter, notwithſtanding what reſiſtance Lothair could make againſt him. ‡ In Auguſt ſix hundred and ſeventy eight was ſeen a morning comet for three months following, in manner of a fiery pillar. And the South-Saxons about this time were converted to the chriſtian faith, upon this occaſion. Wilfrid biſhop of the Northumbrians entering into contention with Ecfrid the king, was by him deprived of his biſhoprick, and long wandering up and down as far as Rome §, returned at length into England; but not daring to approach the north, whence he was baniſhed, bethought him where he might to beſt purpoſe elſewhere exerciſe his miniſtry. The ſouth of all other Saxons remained yet heathen; but Ediwalk their king not long before had been baptized in Mercia, perſuaded by Wulfer, and by him, as hath been ſaid received out of the font. ‖ For which relation's ſake he had the Iſle of Wight, and a province of the Meannari adjoining given him on the continent about Meaneſborow in Hantſhire, which Wulfer had a little before gotten from Kenwalk. Thither Wilfrid takes his journey, and with the help of other ſpiritual labourers about him, in ſhort time planted there the goſpel. It had not rained, as is ſaid, of three years before in that country, whence many of the people daily periſhed by famine; till on the firſt day of their public baptiſm, ſoft and plentiful ſhowers deſcending reſtored all abundance to the ſummer following.

* Malmſ. Poſt Chriſt. 676. † Bed. l. 4. c. 12. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 678. § Poſt Chriſt. 679. ‖ Bed. l. 4. c. 13. Camden.

Two

* Two years after this, Kentwin the other Weſt-Saxon king above named, chaced the Welſh Britons, as is chronicled without circumſtance, to the very ſeaſhore. But in the year, by Beda's reckoning, ſix hundred and eighty three †, Kedvalla a Weſt-Saxon of the royal line, (whom the Welſh will have to be Cadwallader, laſt king of the Britons) thrown out by faction, returned from baniſhment, and invaded both Kentwin, if then living, or whoever elſe had divided the ſucceſſion of Kenwalk, ſlaying in fight Edelwalk the South-Saxon, who oppoſed him in their aid ‡; but ſoon after was repulſed by two of his captains, Bertune and Andune, who for a while held the province in their power. § But Kedwalla gathering new force, with the ſlaughter of Bertune, and alſo of Edric the ſucceſſor of Edelwalk, won the kingdom; but reduced the people to heavy thraldom. ‖ Then addreſſing to conquer the Iſle of Wight, till that time pagan, ſaith Beda, (others otherwiſe, as above hath been related) made a vow, though himſelf yet unbaptized, to devote the ſouth part of that iſland, and the ſpoils thereof to holy uſes. Conqueſt obtained, paying his vow as then was the belief, he gave his fourth to biſhop Wilfrid, by chance there preſent; and he to Bertwin a prieſt, his ſiſter's ſon, with commiſſion to baptize all the vanquiſhed, who meant to ſave their lives. But the two young ſons of Arwald, king of that iſland, met with much more hoſtility: for they, at the enemy's approach flying out of the iſle, and betrayed where they were hid not far from thence, were led to Kedwaller, who lay then under cure of ſome wounds received, and by his appointment, after inſtruction and baptiſm firſt given them, harſhly put to death, which the youths are ſaid above their age to have chriſtianly ſuffered. In Kent Lothair died this year of his wounds received in the fight againſt the South-Saxons, led on by Edric, who deſcending from Ermenred, it ſeems challenged the crown, and wore it, though not commendably, one year and a half: but coming to a violent

* Poſt Chriſt. 681. Sax an. † Poſt Chriſt. 683. Sax. an.
‡ Bed. l. 4. c. 15. § Malmſ. Poſt Chriſt. 684. ‖ Bed. l. 4. c. 15.

death,

death *, left the land expoſed a prey either to homebred uſurpers, or neighbouring invaders. Among whom Kedwalla, taking advantage from their civil diſtempers, and marching eaſily through the South-Saxons, whom he had ſubdued, ſorely haraſſed the country, untouched of a long time by any hoſtile incurſion. But the Kentiſh men, all parties uniting againſt a common enemy, with joint power ſo oppoſed him, that he was conſtrained to retire back; his brother Mollo in the flight, with twelve men in his company, ſeeking ſhelter in a houſe was beſet, and therein burnt by the purſuers †: Kedwalla much troubled at ſo great a loſs, recalling and ſoon rallying his diſordered forces, returned fiercely upon the chaſing enemy ‡; nor could he be got out of the province, till both by fire and ſword he had avenged the death of his brother. § At length Victred, the ſon of Ecbert, attaining the kingdom, both ſettled at home all things in peace, and ſecured his borders from all outward hoſtility. ‖ While thus Kedwalla diſquieted both Weſt and Eaſt, after his winning the crown, Ecfrid the Northumbrian, and Ethelred the Mercian, fought a ſore battle by the river Trent; wherein Elfwin brother to Ecfrid, a youth of eighteen years, much beloved, was ſlain; and the accident likely to occaſion much more ſhedding of blood, peace was happily made up by the grave exhortation of archbiſhop Theodore, a pecuniary fine only paid to Ecfrid, as ſome ſatisfaction for the loſs of his brother's life. Another adverſity befel Ecfrid in his family, by means of Ethildrith his wife, king Anna's daughter, who having taken him for her huſband, and profeſſing to love him above all other men, perſiſted twelve years in the obſtinate refuſal of his bed, thereby thinking to live the purer life. So perverſely then was chaſtity inſtructed againſt the apoſtle's rule. At length obtaining of him with much importunity her departure, ſhe veiled herſelf a nun, then made abbeſs of Ely, died ſeven years after of the peſtilence; and might with better warrant have kept faithfully her undertaken wedlock, though now canonized St. Audrey of Ely. In

* Poſt Chriſt. 685. Malmſ. † Sax. an. Malmſ. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 686. § Poſt Chriſt. 687. ‖ Bed.

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the mean while Ecfrid had ſent Bertus with a power to ſubdue Ireland, a harmleſs nation, ſaith Beda, and ever friendly to the Engliſh; in both which they ſeem to have left a poſterity much unlike them at this day; miſerably waſted, without regard had to places hallowed or profane; they betook themſelves partly to their weapons, partly to implore divine aid; and, as was thought, obtained it in their full avengement upon Ecfrid. For he the next year, againſt the mind and perſuaſion of his ſageſt friends, and eſpecially of Cudbert a famous biſhop of that age, marching unadviſedly againſt the Picts, who long before had been ſubject to Northumberland, was by them feigning flight, drawn unawares into narrow ſtraits, overtopped with hills, and cut off with moſt of his army. From which time, ſaith Bede, military valour began among the Saxons to decay, not only the Picts, till then peaceable, but ſome part of the Britons alſo recovered by arms their liberty for many years after. Yet Alfrid elder, but baſe brother to Ecfrid, a man ſaid to be learned in the ſcriptures, recalled from Ireland, to which place in his brother's reign he had retired, and now ſucceeding, upheld with much honour, though in narrower bounds, the reſidue of his kingdom. Kedwalla having now with great diſturbance of his neighbours reigned over the Weſt-Saxons two years, beſides what time he ſpent in gaining it, wearied perhaps with his own turbulence, went to Rome, deſirous there to receive baptiſm, which till then his worldly affairs had deferred; and accordingly, on Eaſter day, ſix hundred and eighty nine *, he was baptized by Sergius the pope, and his name changed to Peter. All which notwithſtanding, ſurpriſed with a diſeaſe, he outlived not the ceremony ſo far ſought much above the ſpace of five weeks, in the thirtieth year of his age, and in the church of St. Peter was there buried, with a large epitaph upon his tomb. Him ſucceeded Ina of the royal family, and from the time of his coming in for many years oppreſſed the land with like grievances, as Kedwalla had done before him, inſomuch that in thoſe times there was no

* Poſt Chriſt. 689.

biſhop

biſhop among them. His firſt expedition was into Kent, to demand ſatisfaction for the burning of Mollo: Victred, loth to hazard all for the raſh act of a few, delivered up thirty of thoſe that could be found acceſſory, or as others ſay, pacified Ina with a great ſum of money. * Mean-while, at the incitement of Ecbert, a devout monk, Wilbrod, a prieſt eminent for learning, paſſed over ſea, having twelve others in company, with intent to preach the goſpel in Germany. † And coming to Pepin chief regent of the Franks, who a little before had conquered the hither Friſia, by his countenance and protection, promiſe alſo of many benefits to them who ſhould believe, they found the work of converſion much the eaſier, and Wilbrod the firſt biſhopric in that nation. But two prieſts, each of them Hewald by name, and for diſtinction ſurnamed from the colour of their hair, the black and the white, by his example piouſly affected to the ſouls of their countrymen the Old Saxons, at their coming thither to convert them met with much worſe entertainment. For in the houſe of a farmer, who had promiſed to convey them, as they deſired, to the governour of that country, diſcovered by their daily ceremonies to be chriſtian prieſts, and the cauſe of their coming ſuſpected, they were by him and his heathen neighbours cruelly butchered; yet not unavenged, for the governour enraged at ſuch violence offered to his ſtrangers, ſending armed men ſlew all thoſe inhabitants, and burnt their village. ‡ After three years in Mercia, Oſtrid the queen, wife to Ethelred, was killed by her own nobles, as Beda's epitome records; Florence calls them Southimbrians, negligently omitting the cauſe of ſo ſtrange a fact. § And the year following, Bethred a Northumbrian general was ſlain by the Picts. ‖ Ethelred, ſeven years after the violent death of his queen, put on the monk, and reſigned his kingdom to Kenred the ſon of Wulfer his brother. ¶ The next year Alfrid in Northumberland died, leaving Oſred a child of eight years to ſucceed him. ** Four years after which, Ken-

* Malmſ. Sax. an. Ethelwerd. † Poſt Chriſt. 694. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 697. § Poſt Chriſt. 698. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 704. ¶ Poſt Chriſt. 705. ** Poſt Chriſt. 709.

red, having a while with praiſe governed the Mercian kingdom, went to Rome in the time of pope Conſtantine, and ſhorn a monk ſpent there the reſidue of his days. Kelred ſucceeded him, the ſon of Ethelred, who had reigned the next before. With Kenred went Offa the ſon of Siger, king of the Eaſt-Saxons, and betook him to the ſame habit, leaving his wife and native country; a comely perſon in the prime of his youth, much deſired of the people; and ſuch his virtue by report, as might have otherwiſe been worthy to have reigned. * Ina the Weſt-Saxon one year after fought a battle, at firſt doubtful, at laſt ſucceſsful, againſt Gerent king of Wales. † The next year Bertfrid, another Northumbrian captain, fought with the Picts, and ſlaughtered them, ſaith Huntingdon, to the full avengement of Ecfrid's death. ‡ The fourth year after, Ina had another doubtful and cruel battle at Woodneſburgh in Wiltſhire, with Kenred the Mercian, who died the year following a lamentable death §: for as he ſat one day feaſting with his nobles, ſuddenly poſſeſſed with an evil ſpirit, he expired in deſpair, as Boniface archbiſhop of Mentz, an Engliſhman, who taxes him for a defiler of nuns, writes by way of caution to Ethelbald his next of kin, who ſucceeded him. Oſred alſo a young Northumbrian king, ſlain by his kindred in the eleventh of his reign for his vicious life and inceſt committed with nuns, was by Kenred ſucceeded and avenged; he reigning two years left Oſric in his room. ‖ In whoſe ſeventh year, if Beda calculate right, Victred king of Kent deceaſed, having reigned thirty four years, and ſome part of them with Suebbard, as Beda** teſtifies. He left behind him three ſons, Ethelbert, Eadbert, and Alric his heirs. †† Three years after which appeared two comets about the ſun, terrible to behold, the one before him in the morning, the other after him in the evening, for the ſpace of two weeks in January, bending their blaze toward the north; at which time the Saracens furiouſly

* Poſt Chriſt. 710. Sax. annal.
† Huntingd. Poſt Chriſt. 711.
‡ Bed. Epit. Poſt Chriſt. 715.
§ Sax. an. Huntingd. Poſt Chriſt. 716.
‖ Poſt Chriſt. 718.
** L. 5. c. 9. Poſt Chriſt. 725.
†† Poſt Chriſt. 728.

invaded France, but were expelled ſoon after with great overthrow. The ſame year in Northumberland, Oſric, dying or ſlain, adopted Kelwulf the brother of Kenred his ſucceſſor, to whom Beda dedicates his ſtory *; but writes this only of him, that the beginning and the proceſs of his reign met with many adverſe commotions, whereof the event was then doubtfully expected. Meanwhile Ina, ſeven years before having ſlain Kenwulf, to whom Florent gives the addition of Clito, given uſually to none but of the blood royal, and the fourth year after overthrown and ſlain Albright another Clito, driven from Taunton to the South-Saxons for aid, vanquiſhed alſo the Eaſt-Angles in more than one battle, as Malmſbury writes, but not the year; whether to expiate ſo much blood, or infected with the contagious humour of thoſe times, Malmſbury ſaith, at the perſuaſion of Ethelburga his wife, went to Rome, and there ended his days; yet this praiſe left behind him, to have made good laws, the firſt of Saxon that remain extant to this day, and to his kinſman Edelard bequeathed the crown, no leſs than the whole monarchy of England and Wales. For Ina, if we believe a digreſſion in the laws of Edward confeſſor, was the firſt king crowned of Engliſh and Britiſh, ſince the Saxons entrance; of the Britiſh by means of his ſecond wife, ſome way related to Cadwallader laſt king of Wales, which I had not noted, being unlikely, but for the place where I found it. † After Ina, by a ſurer author, Ethelbald king of Mercia commanded all the provinces on this ſide Humber, with their kings: the Picts were in league with the Engliſh, the Scots peaceable within their bounds, and of the Britons part were in their own government, part ſubject to the Engliſh. In which peaceful ſtate of the land, many in Northumberland, both nobles and commons, laying aſide the exerciſe of arms, betook them to the cloiſter: and not content ſo to do at home, many in the days of Ina, clerks and laics, men and women, haſting to Rome in herds, thought themſelves no where ſure of eternal life till they were cloiſtered there. Thus repreſenting the ſtate of things in this iſland, Beda ſurceaſed to write. Out of whom chiefly has been gathered,

* Bed. l. 5. c. 24. † Bede. Poſt Chriſt. 731.

ſince the Saxons arrival, ſuch as hath been delivered, a ſcattered ſtory picked out here and there, with ſome trouble and tedious work, from among his many legends of viſions and miracles; toward the latter end ſo bare of civil matters, as what can be thence collected may ſeem a calendar rather than a hiſtory, taken up for the moſt part with ſucceſſion of kings, and computation of years, yet thoſe hard to be reconciled with the Saxon annals. Their actions we read of were moſt commonly wars, but for what cauſe waged, or by what councils carried on, no care was had to let us know; whereby their ſtrength and violence we underſtand, of their wiſdom, reaſon, or juſtice, little or nothing, the reſt ſuperſtition and monaſtical affectation; kings one after another leaving their kingly charge, to run their heads fondly into a monk's cowl: which leaves us uncertain whether Beda was wanting to his matter, or his matter to him. Yet from hence to the Daniſh invaſion it will be worſe with us, deſtitute of Beda. Left only to obſcure and blockiſh chronicles; whom Malmſbury, and Huntingdon (for neither they nor we had better authors of thoſe times) ambitious to adorn the hiſtory, make no ſcruple ofttimes, I doubt, to interline with conjectures and ſurmiſes of their own; them rather than intimate, I ſhall chooſe to repreſent the truth naked, though as lean as a plain journal. Yet William of Malmſbury muſt be acknowledged, both for ſtyle and judgment, to be by far the beſt writer of them all: but what labour is to be endured turning over volumes of rubbiſh in the reſt, Florence of Worceſter, Huntingdon, Simeon of Durham, Hoveden, Matthew of Weſtminſter, and many others of obſcurer note, with all their monachiſms, is a penance to think. Yet theſe are our only regiſters, tranſcribers one after another for the moſt part, and ſometimes worthy enough for the things they regiſter. This travail, rather than not know at once what may be known of our ancient ſtory, ſifted from fables and impertinences, I voluntarily undergo; and to ſave others, if they pleaſe, the like unpleaſing labour; except thoſe who take pleaſure to be all their lifetime raking the foundations of old abbeys and cathedrals. But to my

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taſk now as it befalls. * In the year ſeven hundred and thirty three, on the eighteenth kalends of September, was an eclipſe of the ſun about the third hour of day, obſcuring almoſt his whole orb as with a black ſhield. † Ethelbald of Mercia beſieged and took the caſtle or town of Somerton: §and two years after Beda our hiſtorian died, ſome ſay the year before. ‖ Kelwulf in Northumberland three years after became monk in Lindisfarne, yet none of the ſevereſt, for he brought thoſe monks from milk and water to wine and ale; in which doctrine no doubt but they were ſoon docile, and well might, for Kelwulf brought with him good proviſion, great treaſure and revenues of land, recited by Simeon, yet all under pretence of following (I uſe the author's words) poor Chriſt, by voluntary poverty; no marvel then if ſuch applauſe were given by monkiſh writers to kings turning monks, and much cunning perhaps uſed to allure them. To Eadbert his uncle's ſon, he left the kingdom, whoſe brother Ecbert, archbiſhop of York, built a library there. ‡ But two years after, while Eadbert was buſied in war againſt the Picts, Ethelbald the Mercian, by foul fraud, aſſaulted part of Northumberland in his abſence, as the ſupplement to Beda's epitome records. In the Weſt-Saxons, Edelard, who ſucceeded Ina, having been much moleſted in the beginning of his reign, with the rebellion of Oſwald his kinſman, who contended with him for the right of ſucceſſion, overcoming at laſt thoſe troubles, died in peace ſeven hundred and forty one **, leaving Cuthred one of the ſame lineage to ſucceed him; who at firſt had much war with Ethelbald the Mercian, and various ſucceſs, but joining with him in league two years after ††, made war on the Welſh; Huntingdon doubts not to give them a great victory. §§ And Simeon reports another battle fought between Britons and Picts the year enſuing. Now was the kingdom of Eaſt-Saxons drawing to a period, for Sigeard and Senfred the ſons of Sebbi having reigned a

* Poſt Chriſt. 733. Sax. an. † Ethelwerd. § Poſt Chriſt. 735. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 738. Malmſ. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 740. ** Poſt Chriſt. 741. Malmſ. Sax. an. †† Poſt Chriſt. 743. Sim. Dun. §§ Poſt Chriſt. 744. Hoved. Malmſ. Sax. an.

while, and after them young Offa, who ſoon quitted his kingdom to go to Rome with Kenred, as hath been ſaid, the government was conferred on Selred ſon of Sigebert the Good, who having ruled thirty eight years *, came to a violent death; how or wherefore, is not ſet down. After whom Swithred was the laſt king, driven out by Ecbert the Weſt-Saxon: but London, with countries adjacent, obeyed the Mercians till they alſo were diſſolved. † Cuthred had now reigned about nine years, when Kinric his ſon, a valiant young prince, was in a military tumult ſlain by his own ſoldiers. The ſame year Eadbert dying in Kent, his brother Edilbert reigned in his ſtead. § But after two years, the other Eadbert in Northumberland, whoſe war with the Picts hath been above mentioned, made now ſuch progreſs there, as to ſubdue Kyle, ſo ſaith the auctarie of Bede, and other countries thereabout, to his dominion; while Cuthred the Weſt-Saxon had a fight with Ethelhun, one of his nobles, a ſtout warrior, envied by him in ſome matter of the commonwealth ‖, as far as by the Latin of Ethelwerd can be underſtood (others interpret it ſedition) and with much ado overcoming, took Ethelhun for his valour into favour, by whom faithfully ſerved in the twelfth or thirteenth of his reign, he encountered in a ſet battle with Ethelbald the Mercian at Beorford, now Burford in Oxfordſhire, ‡ one year after againſt the Welſh, which was the laſt but one of his life. Huntingdon, as his manner is to comment upon the annal text, makes a terrible deſcription of that fight between Cuthred and Ethelbald, and the proweſs of Ethelhun, at Beorford, but ſo affectedly, and therefore ſuſpiciouſly, that I hold it not worth rehearſal; and both in that and the latter conflict gives victory to Cuthred; after whom Sigebert **, uncertain by what right, his kinſman ſaith Florent, ſtepped into the throne, whom, hated for his cruelty and other evil doings, Kinwulf, joining with moſt of the nobility, diſpoſſeſſed of all but Hamſhire; that province he loſt alſo within a year ††, together with the love of all

* Poſt Chriſt. 746. † Poſt Chriſt. 748. Sax. an. Huntingd. § Poſt Chriſt. 750. ‖ Huntingd. Poſt Chriſt. 752. Camd. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 753. ** Sax. an. Poſt Chriſt. 754. Malmſ. †† Poſt Chriſt. 755.

thoſe

thoſe who till then remained his adherents, by ſlaying Cumbran, one of his chief captains, who for a long time had faithfully ſerved, and now diſſuaded him from incenſing the people by ſuch tyrannical practices. * Thence flying for ſafety into Andrew's wood, forſaken of all, he was at length ſlain by the ſwineherd of Cumbran in revenge of his maſter, and Kinwulf, who had undoubted right to the crown, joyfully ſaluted king. † The next year Eadbert the Northumbrian, joining forces with Unuſt king of the Picts, as Simeon writes, beſieged and took by ſurrender the city of Alcluith, now Dunbritton in Lennox, from the Britons of Cumberland; and ten days after §, the whole army periſhed about Niwanbirig, but to tell us how, he forgets. In Mercia, Ethelbald was ſlain at a place called Secandune, now Seckington in Warwickſhire, the year following ‖, in a bloody fight againſt Cuthred, as Huntingdon ſurmiſes, but Cuthred was dead two or three years before; others write him murdered in the night by his own guard, and the treaſon, as ſome ſay, of Beornred, who ſucceeded him; but ere many months, was defeated and ſlain by Offa. Yet Ethelbald ſeems not without cauſe, after a long and proſperous reign, to have fallen by a violent death; not ſhaming, on the vain confidence of his many alms, to commit uncleanneſs with conſecrated nuns, beſides laic adulteries, as the archbiſhop of Mentz in a letter taxes him and his predeceſſor, and that by his example moſt of his peers did the like; which adulterous doings he foretold him were likely to produce a ſlothful offſpring, good for nothing but to be the ruin of that kingdom, as it fell out not long after. ‡ The next year Oſmund, according to Florence, ruling the South-Saxons, and Swithred the Eaſt, Eadbert in Northumberland, following the ſteps of his predeceſſor, got him into a monk's hood; the more to be wondered, that having reigned worthily twenty one years **, with the love and high eſtimation of all, both at home and abroad, ſtill able to govern, and much entreated by

* Huntingdon. † Poſt Chriſt. 756. Camd. § Camd. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 757. Sax. an. Epit. Bed. Sim. Dun. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 758. ** Sim. Dun. Eccleſ. l. 2.

the kings his neighbours, not to lay down his charge; with offer on that condition to yield up to him part of their own dominion, he could not be moved from his reſolution, but relinquiſhed his regal office to Oſwulf his ſon; who at the year's end *, though without juſt cauſe, was ſlain by his own ſervants. And the year after died Ethelbert, ſon of Victred, the ſecond of that name in Kent. After Oſwulf, Ethelwald, otherwiſe called Mollo, was ſet up king; who in his third year † had a great battle at Eldune, by Melros, ſlew Oſwin a great lord, rebelling, and gained the victory. But the third year after ‡ fell by the treachery of Alcred, who aſſumed his place. § The fourth year after which, Cataracta an ancient and fair city in Yorkſhire, was burnt by Arned a certain tyrant, who the ſame year came to like end. ‖ And after five years more, Alcred the king, depoſed and forſaken by all his people, fled with a few, firſt to Bebba, a ſtrong city of thoſe parts, thence to Kinot, king of the Picts. Ethelred, the ſon of Mollo, was crowned in his ſtead. Mean-while Offa the Mercian, growing powerful, had ſubdued a neighbouring people by Simeon, called Haſtings; and fought ſucceſsfully this year with Alric king of Kent, at a place called Occanford: the annals alſo ſpeak of wondrous ſerpents then ſeen in Suſſex. Nor had Kinwulf the Weſt-Saxon given ſmall proof of his valour in ſeveral battles againſt the Welſh heretofore; but this year ſeven hundred and ſeventy five **, meeting with Offa, at a place called Beſington, was put to the worſe, and Offa won the town for which they contended. †† In Northumberland, Ethelred having cauſed three of his nobles, Aldulf, Kinwulf, and Ecca, treacherouſly to be ſlain by two other peers, was himſelf the next year driven into baniſhment, Elfwald the ſon of Oſwulf ſucceeding in his place, yet not without civil broils; for in his ſecond year ‡‡ Oſbald and Athelheard, two noblemen, raiſing forces againſt him, routed Bearne his general, and purſuing,

* Poſt Chriſt. 759. † Poſt Chriſt. 762. Sim. Dun. Mat. Weſt. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 765. Sim. Dun. § Poſt Chriſt. 769. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 774. Sim. Dun. ** Poſt Chriſt. 775. Sax. an. †† Poſt Chriſt. 778. Sim. Dun. ‡‡ Poſt Chriſt. 780. Sim Dun.

burnt

burnt him at a place called Seletune. I am ſenſible how wearifome it may likely be, to read of ſo many bare and reaſonleſs actions, ſo many names of kings one after another, acting little more than mute perſons in a ſcene: what would it be to have inſerted the long bead-roll of archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, abbeſſes, and their doings, neither to religion profitable, nor to morality, ſwelling my authors each to a voluminous body, by me ſtudiouſly omitted; and left as their propriety, who have a mind to write the eccleſiaſtical matters of thoſe ages? Neither do I care to wrinkle the ſmoothneſs of hiſtory with rugged names of places unknown, better harped at in Camden, and other chorographers. * Six years therefore paſſed over in ſilence, as wholly of ſuch argument, bring us to relate next the unfortunate end of Kinwulf the Weſt-Saxon; who having laudably reigned about thirty one years, yet ſuſpecting that Kineard, brother of Sigebert the former king, intended to uſurp the crown after his deceaſe, or revenge his brother's expulſion, had commanded him into baniſhment †: but he lurking here and there on the borders with a ſmall company, having had intelligence that Kinwulf was in the country thereabout, at Merantun, or Merton in Surrey, at the houſe of a woman whom he loved, went by night and beſet the place. Kinwulf, over confident either of his royal preſence, or perſonal valour, iſſuing forth with a few about him, runs fiercely at Kineard, and wounds him ſore; but by his followers hemmed in, is killed among them. The report of ſo great an accident ſoon running to a place not far off, where many more attendants awaited the king's return, Oſric and Wiſert, two earls, haſted with a great number to the houſe, where Kineard and his fellows yet remained. He ſeeing himſelf ſurrounded, with fair words and promiſes of great gifts attempted to appeaſe them; but thoſe rejected with diſdain, fights it out to the laſt, and is ſlain with all but one or two of his retinue, which were nigh a hundred. Kinwulf was ſucceeded by Birthric, being both deſcended of Kerdic the founder of that kingdom.

* Poſt Chriſt. 786. Ethelwerd, Malmſ. † Sax. an. Camd.

Not

* Not better was the end of Elfwald in Northumberland, two years after ſlain miſerably by the conſpiracy of Siggan, one of his nobles, others ſay of the whole people at Scilceſter by the Roman wall; yet undeſervedly, as his ſepulchre at Haguſtald, now Hexam upon Tine, and ſome miracles their ſaid to be done †, are alleged to witneſs, and Siggan five years after laid violent hands on himſelf. ‡ Oſred ſon of Alcred advanced into the room of Elfwald, and within one year driven out, left his ſeat vacant to Ethelred ſon of Mollo, who after ten years of baniſhment § (impriſonment, ſaith Alcuin) had the ſceptre put again into his hand. The third year of Birthric king of Weſt-Saxons, gave beginning from abroad to a new and fatal revolution of calamity on this land. For three Daniſh ſhips, the firſt that had been ſeen here of that nation, arriving in the weſt; to viſit theſe, as was ſuppoſed, foreign merchants, the king's gatherer of cuſtoms taking horſe from Dorcheſter, found them ſpies and enemies. For being commanded to come and give account of their lading at the king's cuſtom houſe, they ſlew him, and all that came with him; as an earneſt of the many ſlaughters, rapines, and hoſtilities, which they returned not long after to commit over all the iſland. ‖ Of this Daniſh firſt arrival, and on a ſudden worſe than hoſtile aggreſſion, the Daniſh hiſtory far otherwiſe relates, as if their landing had been at the mouth of Humber, and their ſpoilful march far into the country; though ſoon repelled by the inhabitants, they haſted back as faſt to their ſhips: but from what cauſe, what reaſon of ſtate, what authority or public council the invaſion proceeded, makes not mention, and our wonder yet the more, by telling us that Sigefrid then king in Denmark, and long after, was a man ſtudious more of peace and quiet than of warlike matters. ** Theſe therefore ſeem rather to have been ſome wanderers at ſea, who with public commiſſion, or without, through love of ſpoil, or hatred of chriſtianity, ſeeking booties on any land of chriſtians, came by chance

* Poſt Chriſt. 788. Sim. Dun. Malmſ. † Camd. ‡ Malmſ.
§ Sim. Dun. Poſt Chriſt. 789. ‖ Pontan. l. 3. ** Ibid. l. 4.

or

or weather on this ſhore. * The next year Oſred in Northumberland, who driven out by his nobles had given place to Ethelred, was taken, and forcibly ſhaven a monk at York. † And the year after, Oelf, and Oelfwin, ſons of Elfwald, formerly king, were drawn by fair promiſes from the principal church of York, and after by command of Ethelred cruelly put to death at Wonwaldremere ‡, a village by the great pool in Lancaſhire, now called Winandermere. § Nor was the third year leſs bloody; for Oſred, who, not liking a ſhaven crown, had deſired baniſhment and obtained it, returning from the Iſle of Man with ſmall forces, at the ſecret but deceitful call of certain nobles, who by oath had promiſed to aſſiſt him, were alſo taken, and by Ethelred dealt with in the ſame manner: who, the better to avouch his cruelties, thereupon married Elfled the daughter of Offa; for in Offa was found as little faith or mercy. He the ſame year, having drawn to his palace Ethelbrite king of Eaſt-Angles, with fair invitations to marry his daughter, cauſed him to be there inhoſpitably beheaded, and his kingdom wrongfully ſeized, by the wicked counſel of his wife, ſaith Mat. Weſtm. annexing thereto a long unlikely tale. For which violence and bloodſhed to make atonement, with friars at leaſt, he beſtows the relics of St. Alban in a ſhrine of pearl and gold. ‖ Far worſe it fared the next year with the relics in Lindisfarne; where the Danes landing pillaged that monaſtery; and of friars killed ſome, carried away others captive, ſparing neither prieſt nor lay: which many ſtrange thunders and fiery dragons, with other impreſſions in the air ſeen frequently before, were judged to foreſignify. This year Alric third ſon of Victred ended in Kent his long reign of thirty four years; with him ended the race of Hengiſt: thenceforth whomſoever wealth or faction advanced took on him the name and ſtate of a king. The Saxon annals of ſeven hundred and eighty four name Ealmund then reigning in Kent; but that conſiſts not with the time of Alric, and I

* Sim. Dun. Poſt Chriſt. 790. † Poſt Chriſt 791. Sim. Dun. ‡ Camd. § Poſt Chriſt. 792. Sim. Dun. Eccleſ. l. 2. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 793. Sim. Dun.

find

find him no where elſe mentioned. The year following * was remarkable for the death of Offa the Mercian, a ſtrenuous and ſubtile king; he had much intercourſe with Charles the Great, at firſt enmity, to the interdicting of commerce on either ſide, at length much amity and firm league, as appears by the letter of Charles himſelf yet extant, procured by Alcuin a learned and prudent man, though a monk, whom the kings of England in thoſe days had ſent orator into France, to maintain good correſpondence between them and Charles the Great. He granted, ſaith Huntingdon, a perpetual tribute to the pope out of every houſe in his kingdom †, for yielding perhaps to tranſlate the primacy of Canterbury to Litchfield in his own dominion. He drew a trench of wonderous length between Mercia and the Britiſh confines from ſea to ſea. Ecferth the ſon of Offa, a prince of great hope, who alſo had been crowned nine years before his father's deceaſe, reſtoring to the church what his father had ſeized on, yet within four months by a ſickneſs ended his reign; and to Kenulf, next in the right of the ſame progeny, bequeathed his kingdom. Meanwhile the Daniſh pirates, who ſtill waſted Northumberland, venturing on ſhore to ſpoil another monaſtery at the mouth of the river Don, were aſſailed by the Engliſh, their chief captain ſlain on the place; then returning to ſea, were moſt of them ſhipwrecked; others driven again on ſhore, were put all to the ſword. Simeon attributes this their puniſhment to the power of St. Cudbert, offended with them for the rifling his convent. ‡ Two years after this died Ethelred, twice king, but not exempted at laſt from the fate of many of his predeceſſors, miſerably ſlain by his people, ſome ſay deſervedly, as not inconſcious with them who trained Oſred to his ruin. Oſbald a nobleman exalted to the throne, and, in leſs than a month, deſerted and expelled, was forced to fly from Lindisfarne by ſea to the Pictiſh king, and died an abbot. Eadhulf, whom Ethelred ſix years before had commanded to be put to death at Rippon, before the abbey-gate, dead as was ſuppoſed, and with ſolemn dirge

* Poſt Chriſt. 794. Malmſ. † Aſſer. Men. Sim. Dun. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 796. Sim. Dun.

carried

carried into the church, after midnight found there alive, I read not how, then baniſhed, now recalled, was in York created king. In Kent Ethelbert or Pren, whom the annals call Eadbright (ſo different they often are one from another, both in timing and in naming) by ſome means having uſurped regal power, after two years reign contending with Kenulf the Mercian, was by him taken priſoner, and ſoon after out of pious commiſeration let go: but not received of his own, what became of him Malmſbury leaves in doubt. Simeon writes, that Kenulf commanded to put out his eyes, and lop off his hands; but whether the ſentence were executed or not, is left as much in doubt by his want of expreſſion. The ſecond year after this, they in Northumberland, who had conſpired againſt Ethelred *, now alſo raiſing war againſt Eardulf, under Wada their chief captain, after much havoc on either ſide at Langho, by Whaley in Lancaſhire, the conſpirators at laſt fleeing, Eardulf returned with victory. The ſame year London, with a great multitude of her inhabitants, by a ſudden fire was conſumed. The year eight hundred † made way for great alteration in England, uniting her ſeven kingdoms into one, by Ecbert the famous Weſt-Saxon; him Birthrick dying childleſs left next to reign, the only ſurvivor of that lineage, deſcended from Inegild the brother of king Ina. ‡ And according to his birth liberally bred, he began early from his youth to give ſignal hopes of more than ordinary worth growing up in him; which Birthric fearing, and withal his juſter title to the crown, ſecretly ſought his life, and Ecbert perceiving, fled to Offa, the Mercian: but he having married Eadburgh his daughter to Birthric, eaſily gave ear to his embaſſadors coming to require Ecbert: § he, again put to his ſhifts, eſcaped thence into France; but after three years baniſhment there, which perhaps contributed much to his education, Charles the Great then reigning, he was called over by the public voice (for Birthric was newly dead) and with general applauſe created king of Weſt-Saxons. The ſame day Ethelmund at Kinnersford paſſing over with the Worceſterſhire men,

* Poſt Chriſt. 798. Sim. Dun. † Poſt Chriſt. 800. ‡ Malmſ. § Sax. an.

was

was met by Weolſtan another nobleman with thoſe of Wiltſhire, between whom happened a great fray, wherein the Wiltſhire men overcame, but both dukes were ſlain, no reaſon of their quarrel written; ſuch bickerings to recount, met often in theſe our writers, what more worth is it than to chronicle the wars of kites or crows, flocking and fighting in the air? * The year following, Eardulf the Northumbrian leading forth an army againſt Kenwulf the Mercian for harbouring certain of his enemies, by the diligent mediation of other princes and prelates, arms were laid aſide, and amity ſoon ſworn between them. † But Eadburga, the wife of Birthric, a woman every way wicked, in malice eſpecially cruel, could not or cared not to appeaſe the general hatred juſtly conceived againſt her; accuſtomed in her huſband's day, to accuſe any whom ſhe ſpighted ‡; and not prevailing to his ruin, her practice was by poiſon ſecretly to contrive his death. It fortuned, that the king her huſband, lighting on a cup which ſhe had tempered, not for him, but for one of his great favourites, whom ſhe could not harm by accuſing, ſipped thereof only, and in a while after, ſtill pining away, ended his days; the favourite, drinking deeper, found ſpeedier the operation. She, fearing to be queſtioned for theſe facts, with what treaſure ſhe had paſſed over ſea to Charles the Great, whom, with rich gifts coming to his preſence, the emperor courtly received with this pleaſant propoſal: "Chooſe, Eadburga, which of us two thou wilt, me or my ſon," (for his ſon ſtood by him) "to be thy huſband." She, no diſſembler of what ſhe liked beſt, made eaſy anſwer: "Were it in my choice, I ſhould chooſe of the two your ſon rather, as the younger man." To whom the emperor, between jeſt and earneſt, "Hadſt thou choſen me, I had beſtowed on thee my ſon; but ſince thou haſt choſen him, thou ſhalt have neither him nor me." Nevertheleſs he aſſigned her a rich monaſtery to dwell in as abbeſs; for that life it may ſeem ſhe choſe next to profeſs: but being a while after detected of unchaſtity with one of her followers, ſhe was commanded to depart thence: from that time

* Poſt Chriſt. 801. Sim. Dun. † Malmſ. l. 2. Aſſer. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 802. Sim. Dun.

wandering

wandering poorly up and down with one ſervant, in Pavia a city of Italy, ſhe finiſhed at laſt in beggary her ſhameful life. In the year eight hundred and five * Cuthred, whom Kenulf the Mercian had, inſtead of Pren, made king in Kent, having obſcurely reigned eight years, deceaſed. In Northumberland, Eardulf the year following was driven out of his realm by Alfwold †, who reigned two years in his room; after whom Eandred ſon of Eardulf thirty three years; but I ſee not how this can ſtand with the ſequel of ſtory out of better authors: much leſs that which Buchanan relates, the year following ‡ of Achaius king of Scots, who having reigned thirty two years, and dying in eight hundred and nine §, had formerly aided (but in what year of his reign tells not) Hungus king of Picts with ten thouſand Scots, againſt Athelſtan a Saxon or Engliſhman, then waſting the Pictiſh borders; that Hungus by the aid of thoſe Scots, and the help of St. Andrew their patron, in a viſion by night, and the appearance of his croſs by day, routed the aſtoniſhed Engliſh, and ſlew Athelſtan in fight. Who this Athelſtan was, I believe no man knows; Buchanan ſuppoſes him to have been ſome Daniſh commander, on whom king Alured or Alfred had beſtowed Northumberland; but of this I find no footſtep in our ancient writers; and if any ſuch thing were done in the time of Alfred, it muſt be little leſs than a hundred years after: this Athelſtan therefore, and this great overthrow, ſeems rather to have been the fancy of ſome legend than any warrantable record. ‖ Mean-while Ecbert having with much prudence, juſtice, and clemency, a work of more than one year, eſtabliſhed his kingdom and himſelf in the affections of his people, turns his firſt enterpriſe againſt the Britons, both them of Cornwall and thoſe beyond Severn, ſubduing both. In Mercia, Kenulf, the ſixth year after **, having reigned with great praiſe of his religious mind and virtues both in peace and war, deceaſed. His ſon Kenelm, a child of ſeven years, was committed to the care of his elder

* Poſt Chriſt. 805. Malmſ. Sax. an. † Poſt Chriſt. 806. Huntingd. Sim. Dun. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 808. Mat Weſt. § Poſt Chriſt. 809. ‖ Sim. Dun. Poſt Chriſt. 813. Sax. an. ** Poſt Chriſt. 819. Sax. an.

ſiſter

ſiſter Quendrid: who, with a female ambition aſpiring to the crown, hired one who had the charge of his nurture to murder him, led into a woody place upon pretence of hunting. * The murder, as is reported, was miraculouſly revealed; but to tell how, by a dove dropping a written note on the altar at Rome, is a long ſtory, told, though out of order, by Malmſbury, and under the year eight hundred and twenty one by Mat. Weſt., where I leave it to be ſought by ſuch as are more credulous than I wiſh my readers. Only the note was to this purpoſe:

Low in a mead of kine under a thorn,
Of head bereft, lieth poor Kenelm kingborn.

Keolwulf, the brother of Kenulf, after one year's reign was driven out by one Bernulf an uſurper †; who in his third year ‡, uncertain whether invading or invaded, was by Ecbert, though with great loſs on both ſides, overthrown and put to flight at Ellandune or Wilton: yet Malmſbury accounts this battle fought in eight hundred and ſix; a wide difference, but frequently found in their computations. Bernulf thence retiring to the Eaſt-Angles, as part of his dominion by the late ſeizure of Offa, was by them met in the field and ſlain: but they, doubting what the Mercians might do in revenge hereof, forthwith yielded themſelves both king and people to the ſovereignty of Ecbert. As for the kings of Eaſt-Angles, our annals mention them not ſince Ethelwald; him ſucceeded his brother's ſons §, as we find in Malmſbury, Aldulf (a good king, well acquainted with Bede) and Elwold who left the kingdom to Beorn, he to Ethelred the father of Ethelbrite, whom Offa perfidiouſly put to death. Simeon and Hoveden, in the year ſeven hundred and forty nine, write that Elfwald king of Eaſt-Angles dying, Humbeanna and Albert ſhared the kingdom between them; but where to inſert this among the former ſucceſſions is not eaſy, nor much material: after Ethelbrite, none is named of that kingdom till their ſubmitting now to Ecbert: he from this victory againſt Bernulf ſent part of his army under Ethelwulf his ſon, with

* Malmſ. † Poſt Chriſt. 820. Ingulf. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 823. Sax. an.
§ Florent. Genealog. Bed. L. 2. c. 15.

Alſtan

Alſtan biſhop of Shirburn, and Wulferd a chief commander, into Kent. Who, finding Baldred there reigning in his eighteenth year, overcame and drove him over the Thames; whereupon all Kent, Surrey, Suſſex, and laſtly Eſſex, with her king Swithred, became ſubject to the dominion of Ecbert. Neither were theſe all his exploits of this year; the firſt in order ſet down in Saxon annals being his fight againſt the Devonſhire Welſh, at a place called Gafulford, now Camelford in Cornwall. • Ludiken the Mercian, after two years preparing to avenge Bernulf his kinſman on the Eaſt-Angles, was by them with his five conſuls, as the annals call them, ſurpriſed and put to the ſword: and Withlaf his ſucceſſor firſt vanquiſhed, then upon ſubmiſſion, with all Mercia, made tributary to Ecbert. Mean-while the Northumbrian kingdom of itſelf was fallen to ſhivers; their kings one after another ſo often ſlain by the people, no man daring, though never ſo ambitious, to take up the ſceptre, which many had found ſo hot (the only effectual cure of ambition that I have read) for the ſpace of thirty-three years after the death of Ethelred ſon of Mollo, as Malmſbury writes, there was no king: many noblemen and prelates were fled the country. Which miſrule among them the Danes having underſtood, ofttimes from their ſhips entering far into the land, infeſted thoſe parts with wide depopulation, waſting towns, churches, and monaſteries, for they were yet heathen: the Lent before whoſe coming, on the north ſide of St. Peter's church in York was ſeen from the roof to rain blood. The cauſes of theſe calamities, and the ruin of that kingdom, Alcuin, a learned monk living in thoſe days, attributes in ſeveral epiſtles, and well may, to the general ignorance and decay of learning, which crept in among them after the death of Beda, and of Ecbert the archbiſhop; their neglect of breeding up youth in the ſcriptures, the ſpruce and gay apparel of their prieſts and nuns, diſcovering their vain and wanton minds. Examples are alſo read, even in Beda's days, of their wanton deeds: thence altars defiled with perjuries, cloiſters violated with adulteries,

• Camd. Poſt Chriſt. 825. Ingulf.

the land polluted with the blood of their princes, civil diſſenſions among the people; and finally, all the ſame vices which Gildas alleged of old to have ruined the Britons. In this eſtate Ecbert, who had now conquered all the ſouth, finding them in the year eight hundred and twenty ſeven *, (for he was marched thither with an army to complete his conqueſt of the whole iſland) no wonder if they ſubmitted themſelves to the yoke without reſiſtance, Eandred their king becoming tributary. † Thence turning his forces the year following he ſubdued more thoroughly what remained of North-Wales.

* Poſt Chriſt. 827. † Poſt Chriſt. 828. Mat. Weſt.

THE END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

THE

HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

THE ſum of things in this iſland, or the beſt part thereof, reduced now under the power of one man, and him one of the worthieſt, which, as far as can be found in good authors, was by none attained at any time here before, unleſs in fables; men might with ſome reaſon have expected from ſuch union, peace and plenty, greatneſs, and the flouriſhing of all eſtates and degrees: but far the contrary fell out ſoon after, invaſion, ſpoil, deſolation, ſlaughter of many, ſlavery of the reſt, by the forcible landing of a fierce nation; Danes commonly called, and ſometimes Dacians by others, the ſame with Normans; as barbarous as the Saxons themſelves were at firſt reputed, and much more: for the Saxons firſt invited came hither to dwell; theſe unſent for, unprovoked, came only to deſtroy *. But if the Saxons, as is above related, came moſt of them from Jutland and Anglen, a part of Denmark, as Daniſh writers affirm, and that Danes and Normans are the ſame; then in this invaſion, Danes drove out Danes, their own poſterity. And Normans afterwards none but ancienter Normans †. Which invaſion perhaps, had the heptarchy ſtood divided as it was, had either not been attempted, or not uneaſily reſiſted; while each prince and people, excited by their neareſt concernments, had more induſtriouſly defended their own bounds, than depending on the neglect of a deputed governour, ſent ofttimes from the remote reſidence of a ſecure monarch. Though as it fell out in thoſe troubles, the leſſer kingdoms revolting from the Weſt-Saxon yoke, and not aiding each other, too much concerned for their own ſafety, it came to no better paſs; while ſeverally they ſought to repel the danger nigh at hand, rather than jointly to prevent it

* Calviſius. † Pontan. Hiſt. Dan.

far off. But when God hath decreed ſervitude on a ſinful nation, fitted by their own vices for no condition but ſervile, all eſtates of government are alike unable to avoid it. God hath purpoſed to puniſh our inſtrumental puniſhers, though now chriſtians, by other heathen, according to his divine retaliation; invaſion for invaſion, ſpoil for ſpoil, deſtruction for deſtruction. The Saxons were now full as wicked as the Britons were at their rival, broken with luxury and ſloth, either ſecular or ſuperſtitious; for laying aſide the exerciſe of arms, and the ſtudy of all virtuous knowledge, ſome betook them to overworldly or vicious practice, others to religious idleneſs and ſolitude, which brought forth nothing but vain and deluſive viſions; eaſily perceived ſuch by their commanding of things, either not belonging to the goſpel, or utterly forbidden, ceremonies, relics, monaſteries, maſſes, idols; add to theſe oſtentation of alms, got oftimes by rapine and oppreſſion, or intermixed with violent and luſtful deeds, ſometimes prodigally beſtowed as the expiation of cruelty and bloodſhed. What longer ſuffering could there be, when religion itſelf grew ſo void of ſincerity, and the greateſt ſhows of purity were impured?

ECBERT.

Ecbert in full height of glory, having now enjoyed his conqueſt ſeven peaceful years, his victorious army long ſince diſbanded, and the exerciſe of arms perhaps laid aſide; the more was found unprovided againſt a ſudden ſtorm of Danes from the ſea, who landing in the * thirty ſecond of his reign, waſted Shepey in Kent. Ecbert the next year †, gathering an army, for he had heard of their arrival in thirty five ſhips, gave them battle by the river Carr in Dorſetſhire; the event whereof was, that the Danes kept their ground, and encamped where the field was fought; two Saxon leaders, Dudda and Oſmund, and two biſhops, as ſome ſay, were there ſlain. This was the only check of fortune we read of, that Ecbert in all his time received. For the Danes returning two years § after with a great navy,

* Poſt Chriſt. 832. Sax. annal. † Poſt Chriſt. 833. Sax. an.
§ Poſt Chriſt. 835. Sax. an. Pontan. Hiſt. Dan. l. 4.

and

and joining forces with the Corniſh, who had entered league with them, were overthrown and put to flight. Of theſe invaſions againſt Ecbert the Daniſh hiſtory is not ſilent; whether out of their own records or ours may be juſtly doubted: for of theſe times at home I find them in much uncertainty, and beholden rather to outlandiſh chronicles, than any records of their own. The victor Ecbert, as one who had done enough, ſeaſonably now, after proſperous ſucceſs, the next * year with glory ended his days, and was buried at Wincheſter.

ETHELWOLF.

ETHELWOLF the ſon of Ecbert ſucceeded, by Malmſbury deſcribed a man of mild nature, not inclined to war, or delighted with much dominion; that therefore contented with the ancient Weſt-Saxon bounds, he gave to Ethelſtan his brother, or ſon, as ſome write, the kingdom of Kent and Eſſex. † But the Saxon annaliſt, whoſe authority is elder, ſaith plainly, that both theſe countries and Suſſex were bequeathed to Ethelſtan by Ecbert his father. The unwarlike diſpoſition of Ethelwolf gave encouragement no doubt, and eaſier entrance to the Danes, who came again the next year with thirty three ſhips §; but Wulfherd, one of the king's chief captains, drove them back at Southampton with great ſlaughter; himſelf dying the ſame year, of age, as I ſuppoſe, for he ſeems to have been one of Ecbert's old commanders, who was ſent with Ethelwolf to ſubdue Kent. Ethelhelm, another of the king's captains, with the Dorſetſhire men, had at firſt like ſucceſs againſt the Danes at Portſmouth; but they reinforcing ſtood their ground, and put the Engliſh to rout. Worſe was the ſucceſs of earl Herebert at a place called Mereſwar, ſlain with the moſt part of his army. ‖ The year following in Lindſey alſo, Eaſt-Angles, and Kent, much miſchief was done by their landing; ‡ where the next year, emboldened by ſucceſs, they came on as far as Canterbury, Rocheſter, and London itſelf, with

* Poſt Chriſt. 836. Sax. an. † Mat. Weſt. § Poſt Chriſt. 837. Sax. an. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 838. Sax. an. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 839. Sax. an.

no leſs cruel hoſtility: and giving no reſpite to the peaceable mind of Ethelwolf, they yet returned with the next year * in thirty five ſhips, fought with him, as before with his father at the river Carr, and made good their ground. In Northumberland, Eandred the tributary king deceaſing left the ſame tenure to his ſon Ethelred, driven out in his fourth year †, and ſucceeded by Readwulf, who ſoon after his coronation haſting forth to battle againſt the Danes at Alvetheli, fell with the moſt part of his army; and Ethelred, like in fortune to the former Ethelred, was reexalted to his ſeat. And, to be yet further like him in fate, was ſlain the fourth year after. Oſbert ſucceeded in his room. But more ſoutherly, the Danes next year ‡ after met with ſome ſtop in the full courſe of their outrageous inſolencies. For Earnulf with the men of Somerſet, Alſtan the biſhop, and Oſric with thoſe of Dorſetſhire, ſetting upon them at the river's mouth of Pedridan, ſlaughtered them in great numbers, and obtained a juſt victory. This repulſe quelled them, for aught we hear, the ſpace of ſix years §; then alſo renewing their invaſion with little better ſucceſs. For Keorle an earl, aided with the forces of Devonſhire, aſſaulted and overthrew them at Wigganbeorch with great deſtruction; as proſperouſly were they fought with the ſame year at Sandwich, by king Ethelſtan, and Ealker his general, their great army defeated, and nine of their ſhips taken, the reſt driven off; however to ride out the winter on that ſhore, Aſſer ſaith, they then firſt wintered in Shepey iſle. Hard it is, through the bad expreſſion of theſe writers, to define this fight, whether by ſea or land; Hoveden terms it a ſea-fight. Nevertheleſs with fifty ſhips (Aſſer and others add three hundred) they entered the mouth of the Thames ||, and made excurſions as far as Canterbury and London, and as Ethelwerd writes, deſtroyed both; of London, Aſſer ſignifies only that they pillaged it. Bertulf alſo the Mercian, ſucceſſor of Withlaf, with all his army they forced to fly, and him beyond the ſea.

* Poſt Chriſt. 840. Sax. an. Sim. Dun. Mat. Weſt. † Poſt Chriſt. 844. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 845. Sax. an. § Poſt Chriſt. 851. Sax. an. Aſſer. || Huntingd. Mat. Weſt.

Then paſſing over Thames with their powers into Surrey, and the Weſt-Saxons, and meeting there with king Ethelwolf and Ethelbald his ſon, at a place called Ak-Lea, or Oke-Lea, they received a total defeat with memorable ſlaughter. This was counted a lucky year* to England, and brought to Ethelwolf great reputation. Burhed therefore, who after Bertulf held of him the Mercian kingdom, two years after this, imploring his aid againſt the North Welſh, as then troubleſome to his confines, obtained it of him in perſon, and thereby reduced them to obedience. This done, Ethelwolf ſent his ſon Alfred, a child of five years, well accompanied to Rome, whom Leo the pope both conſecrated to be king afterwards, and adopted to be his ſon; at home Ealker with the forces of Kent, and Huda with thoſe of Surrey, fell on the Danes at their landing in Tanet, and at firſt put them back; but the ſlain and drowned were at length ſo many on either ſide, as left the loſs equal on both: which yet hindered not the ſolemnity of a marriage at the feaſt of Eaſter, between Burhed the Mercian, and Ethelſwida king Ethelwolf's daughter. Howbeit the Danes next year† wintered again in Shepey. Whom Ethelwolf, not finding human health ſufficient to reſiſt, growing daily upon him, in hope of divine aid, regiſtered in a book and dedicated to God the tenth part of his own lands, and of his whole kingdom, eaſed of all impoſitions, but converted to the maintenance of maſſes and pſalms weekly to be ſung for the proſpering of Ethelwolf and his captains, as appears at large by the patent itſelf, in William of Malmſbury. Aſſer ſaith, he did it for the redemption of his ſoul, and the ſouls of his anceſtors. After which, as having done ſome great matter to ſhow himſelf at Rome, and be applauded of the pope; he takes a long and cumberſome journey thither with young Alfred again‡, and there ſtays a year, when his place required him rather here in the field againſt Pagan enemies left wintering in his land. Yet ſo much manhood he had, as to return thence no monk;

* Poſt Chriſt. 853. Sax. an. Aſſer. † Malmſ. Poſt Chriſt. 854. Sax. an. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 855. Aſſer.

and in his way home took to wife Judith daughter to Charles the Bald, king of France *. But ere his return, Ethelbald his eldeſt ſon, Alſtan his truſty biſhop, and Enulf earl of Somerſet conſpired againſt him: their complaints were, that he had taken with him Alfred his youngeſt ſon to be there inaugurated king, and brought home with him an outlandiſh wife; for which they endeavoured to deprive him of his kingdom. The diſturbance was expected to bring forth nothing leſs than war: but the king abhorring civil diſcord, after many conferences tending to peace, condeſcended to divide the kingdom with his ſon: diviſion was made, but the matter ſo carried, that the eaſtern and worſt part was malignly afforded to the father; the weſtern and beſt given to the ſon: at which many of the nobles had great indignation, offering to the king their utmoſt aſſiſtance for the recovery of all; whom he peaceſully diſſuading, ſat down contented with his portion aſſigned. In the Eaſt-Angles, Edmund lineal from the ancient ſtock of thoſe kings, a youth of fourteen years only, but of great hopes, was with conſent of all but his own crowned at Bury. About this time, as Buchanan relates †, the Picts, who not long before had by the Scots been driven out of their country, part of them coming to Oſbert and Ella, then kings of Northumberland, obtained aid againſt Donaldus the Scottiſh king, to recover their ancient poſſeſſion. Oſbert, who in perſon undertook the expedition, marching into Scotland, was at firſt put to a retreat; but returning ſoon after on the Scots, overſecure of their ſuppoſed victory, put them to flight with great ſlaughter, took priſoner their king, and purſued his victory beyond Stirling bridge. The Scots unable to reſiſt longer, and by embaſſadors entreating peace, had it granted them on theſe conditions: The Scots were to quit all they had poſſeſſed within the wall of Severus: the limits of Scotland were beneath Stirling bridge to be the river Forth, and on the other ſide, Dunbritton Frith; from that time ſo called of the Britiſh then ſeated in Cumberland, who had joined with Oſbert in this action, and ſo far extended on that ſide the Britiſh

* Aſſer. † Poſt Chriſt. 857.

limits,

limits. If this be true, as the Scots writers themſelves witneſs (and who would think them fabulous to the diſparagement of their own country?) how much wanting have been our hiſtorians to their country's honour, in letting paſs unmentioned an exploit ſo memorable, by them remembered and atteſted, who are wont oftener to extenuate than to amplify aught done in Scotland by the Engliſh? Donaldus, on theſe conditions releaſed, ſoon after dies, according to Buchanan, in 858. Ethelwolf, chief king in England, had the year before ended his life, and was buried as his father at Wincheſter*. He was from his youth much addicted to devotion; ſo that in his father's time he was ordained biſhop of Wincheſter; and unwillingly, for want of other legitimate iſſue, ſucceeded him in the throne: managing therefore his greateſt affairs by the activity of two biſhops, Alſtan of Sherburne, and Swithine of Wincheſter. But Alſtan is noted of covetouſneſs and oppreſſion, by William of Malmſbury †; the more vehemently no doubt for doing ſome notable damage to that monaſtery. The ſame author writes ‡, that Ethelwolf at Rome paid a tribute to the pope, continued to his days. However he were facile to his ſon, and ſeditious nobles, in yielding up part of his kingdom, yet his queen he treated not the leſs honourably, for whomſoever it diſpleaſed. § The Weſt-Saxons had decreed ever ſince the time of Eadburga, the infamous wife of Birthric, that no queen ſhould ſit in ſtate with the king, or be dignified with the title of queen. But Ethelwolf permitted not that Judith his queen ſhould loſe any point of regal ſtate by that law. At his death, he divided the kingdom between his two ſons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert; to the younger Kent, Eſſex, Surrey, Suſſex, to the elder all the reſt; to Peter and Paul certain revenues yearly, for what uſes let others relate, who write alſo his pedigree, from ſon to father, up to Adam.

* Mat. Weſt. Ann. l. 5. † Malmſ. Suithine. ‡ Sigon. de regn. Ital. l. 5. § Aſſer.

ETHELBALD, and ETHELBERT.

ETHELBALD, unnatural and diſloyal to his father *, fell juſtly into another, though contrary ſin, of too much love for his father's wife; and whom at firſt he oppoſed coming into the land, her now unlawfully marrying, he takes into his bed; but not long enjoying, died at three years end †, without doing aught more worthy to be remembered; having reigned two years with his father, impiouſly uſurping, and three after him, as unworthily inheriting. And his hap was all that while to be unmoleſted with the Danes; not of divine favour doubtleſs, but to his greater condemnation, living the more ſecurely his inceſtuous life. Huntingdon on the other ſide much praiſes Ethelbald, and writes him buried at Sherburn, with great ſorrow of the people, who miſſed him long after. Mat. Weſtm. ſaith, that he repented of his inceſt with Judith, and diſmiſſed her: but Aſſer, an eyewitneſs of thoſe times, mentions no ſuch thing.

ETHELBERT alone.

ETHELBALD by death removed, the whole kingdom came rightfully to Ethelbert his next brother. Who, though a prince of great virtue and no blame, had as ſhort a reign allotted him as his faulty brother, nor that ſo peaceful; once or twice invaded by the Danes. But they having landed in the weſt with a great army, and ſacked Wincheſter, were met by Oſric earl of Southampton, and Ethelwolf of Berkſhire, beaten to their ſhips, and forced to leave their booty. Five years after §, about the time of his death, they ſet foot again in Tanet; the Kentiſhmen, wearied out with ſo frequent alarms, came to agreement with them for a certain ſum of money; but ere the peace could be ratified, and the money gathered, the Danes, impatient of delay, by a ſudden eruption in the night ſoon waſted all the Eaſt of Kent. Mean-while, or ſomething before, Ethelbert deceaſing was buried as his brother at Sherburn.

* Aſſer. Malmſ. Sim. Dun. † Poſt Chriſt. 860. Sax. an.
§ Poſt Chriſt. 855. Sax. an.

ETHELRED.

ETHELRED, the third ſon of Ethelwolf, at his firſt coming to the crown was entertained with a freſh invaſion of Danes *, led by Hinguar and Hubba, two brothers, who now had got footing among the Eaſt-Angles; there they wintered, and coming to terms of peace with the inhabitants, furniſhed themſelves of horſes, forming by that means many troops with riders of their own: theſe pagans, Aſſer ſaith, came from the river Danubius. Fitted thus for a long expedition, they ventured the next year † to make their way over land and over Humber as far as York: them they found to their hands embroiled in civil diſſenſions; their king Oſbert they had thrown out, and Ella leader of another faction choſen in his room; who both, though late, admoniſhed by their common danger, towards the year's end with united powers made head againſt the Danes and prevailed; but purſuing them overeagerly into York, then but ſlenderly walled §, the Northumbrians were every where ſlaughtered, both within and without; their kings alſo both ſlain, their city burnt, ſaith Malmſbury, the reſt as they could made their peace, overrun and vanquiſhed as far as the river Tine, and Egbert of Engliſh race appointed king over them. Bromton, no ancient author (for he wrote ſince Mat. Weſt.) nor of much credit, writes a particular cauſe of the Danes coming to York; that Bruern a nobleman, whoſe wife king Oſbert had raviſhed, called in Hinguar and Hubba to revenge him. The example is remarkable, if the truth were as evident. Thence victorious, the Danes next year ‖ entered into Mercia towards Nottingham, where they ſpent the winter. Burhed then king of that country, unable to reſiſt, implores the aid of Ethelred and young Alfred his brother; they aſſembling their forces and joining with the Mercians about Nottingham, offer battle ‡: the Danes, not daring to come forth, kept themſelves within that town and caſtle, ſo that no great fight was ha-

* Poſt Chriſt. 866. Sax. an. Huntingd. † Poſt Chriſt. 867. Sax. an. § Aſſer. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 868. ‡ Aſſer.

zarded

zarded there; at length the Mercians, weary of long ſuſpenſe, entered into conditions of peace with their enemies. After which the Danes, returning back to York, made their abode there the ſpace of one year *; committing, ſome ſay, many cruelties. Thence embarking to Lindſey, and all the ſummer deſtroying that country, about September † they came with like fury into Keſteven, another part of Lincolnſhire; where Algar, the earl of Howland, now Holland, with his forces, and two hundred ſtout ſoldiers belonging to the abbey of Croiland, three hundred from about Boſton, Morcard lord of Brunne, with his numerous family, well trained and armed, Oſgot governor of Lincoln with five hundred of that city, all joining together, gave battle to the Danes, ſlew of them a great multitude, with three of their kings, and purſued the reſt to their tents; but the night following, Gothrun, Baſeg, Oſketil, Halfden, and Hamond, five kings, and as many earls, Frena, Hinguar, Hubba, Sidroc the elder and younger, coming in from ſeveral parts with great forces and ſpoils, great part of the Engliſh began to ſlink home. Nevertheleſs Algar with ſuch as forſook him not, all next day in order of battle facing the Danes, and ſuſtaining unmoved the brunt of their aſſaults, could not withhold his men at laſt from purſuing their counterfeited flight; whereby opened and diſordered, they fell into the ſnare of their enemies, ruſhing back upon them. Algar and thoſe captains forenamed with him, all reſolute men, retreating to a hill ſide, and ſlaying of ſuch as followed them, manifold their own number, died at length upon heaps of dead which they had made round about them. The Danes, thence paſſing on into the country of Eaſt-Angles, rifled and burnt the monaſtery of Ely, overthrew earl Wulketul with his whole army, and lodged out the winter at Thetford; where king Edmond aſſailing them was with his whole army put to flight, himſelf taken, bound to a ſtake, and ſhot to death with arrows, his whole country ſubdued. The next year § with great ſup-

* Poſt Chriſt. 869. Sim. Dun. † Poſt Chriſt. 870. Ingulf.
§ Poſt Chriſt. 871. Sax. an.

plies,

plies, ſaith Huntingdon, bending their march toward the Weſt-Saxons, the only people now left in whom might ſeem yet to remain ſtrength or courage likely to oppoſe them, they came to Reading, fortified there between the two rivers of Thames and Kenet, and about three days after ſent out wings of horſe under two earls to forage the country; * but Ethelwolf earl of Berkſhire, at Englefield a village nigh, encountered them, ſlew one of their earls, and obtained a great victory. Four days after came the king himſelf and his brother Alfred with the main battle; and the Danes iſſuing forth, a bloody fight began, on either ſide great ſlaughter, in which earl Ethelwolf loſt his life; but the Danes, loſing no ground, kept their place of ſtanding to the end. Neither did the Engliſh for this make leſs haſte to another conflict at Eſceſdune or Aſhdown, four days after, where both armies with their whole force on either ſide met. The Danes were embattled in two great bodies, the one led by Baſcai and Halfden, their two kings, the other by ſuch earls as were appointed; in like manner the Engliſh divided their powers, Ethelred the king ſtood againſt their kings; and though on the lower ground, and coming later into the battle from his oriſons, gave a fierce onſet, wherein Baſcai (the Daniſh hiſtory names him Ivarus the ſon of Regnerus) was ſlain. Alfred was placed againſt the earls, and beginning the battle ere his brother came into the field, with ſuch reſolution charged them, that in the ſhock moſt of them were ſlain; they are named Sidroc elder and younger, Oſbern, Frean, Harald: at length in both diviſions the Danes turn their backs; many thouſands of them cut off, the reſt purſued till night. So much the more it may be wondered to hear next in the annals, that the Danes, fourteen days after ſuch an overthrow fighting again with Ethelred and his brother Alfred at Baſing, (under conduct, ſaith the Daniſh hiſtory, of Agnerus and Hubbo, brothers of the ſlain Ivarus,) ſhould obtain the victory; eſpecially ſince the new ſupply of Danes mentioned by Aſſer † arrived after this action. But after two months, the king and his brother fought with them again at Mertun, in

* Aſſer. † Pontan. Hiſt. Dan. l. 4

two

two ſquadrons as before, in which fight hard it is to underſtand who had the better; ſo darkly do the Saxon annals deliver their meaning with more than wonted infancy. Yet theſe I take (for Aſſer is here ſilent) to be the chief fountain of our ſtory, the ground and baſis upon which the monks later in time gloſs and comment at their pleaſure. Nevertheleſs it appears, that on the Saxon part, not Heamund the biſhop only, but many valiant men loſt their lives. * This fight was followed by a heavy ſummer plague; whereof, as is thought, king Etheldred died in the fifth of his reign, and was buried at Winburn, where his epitaph inſcribes that he had his death's wound by the Danes, according to the Daniſh hiſtory 872. Of all theſe terrible landings and devaſtations by the Danes, from the days of Ethelwolf till their two laſt battles with Ethelred, or of their leaders, whether kings, dukes, or earls, the Daniſh hiſtory of beſt credit ſaith nothing; ſo little wit or conſcience it ſeems they had to leave any memory of their brutiſh rather than manly actions; unleſs we ſhall ſuppoſe them to have come, as above was cited out of Aſſer, from Danubius, rather than from Denmark, more probably ſome barbarous nation of Pruſſia, or Livonia, not long before ſeated more northward on the Baltic ſea.

ALFRED.

Alfred, the fourth ſon of Ethelwolf, had ſcarce performed his brother's obſequies, and the ſolemnity of his own crowning, when at the month's end in haſte with a ſmall power he encountered the whole army of Danes at Wilton, and moſt part of the day foiled them; but unwarily following the chaſe, gave others of them the advantage to rally; who returning upon him now weary, remained maſters of the field. This year, as is affirmed in the annals, nine battles had been fought againſt the Danes on the ſouth ſide of Thames, beſides innumerable excurſions made by Alfred and other leaders; one king, nine earls were fallen in fight, ſo that weary on both ſides at the year's end, league or truce was concluded. Yet

* Camden.

next

next year * the Danes took their march to London, now expoſed to their prey; there they wintered, and thither came the Mercians to renew peace with them. The year following they roved back to the parts beyond Humber, but wintered at Torkſey in Lincolnſhire, where the Mercians now the third time made peace with them. Notwithſtanding which, removing their camp to Rependune in Mercia †, now Repton upon Trent in Derbyſhire, and there wintering, they conſtrained Burhed the king to fly into foreign parts, making ſeizure of his kingdom; he running the direct way to Rome ‡ (with better reaſon than his anceſtors,) died there, and was buried in a church by the Engliſh ſchool. His kingdom the Danes farmed out to Kelwulf, one of his houſhold ſervants or officers, with condition to be reſigned them when they commanded. § From Rependune they diſlodged, Hafden their king leading part of his army northward, wintered by the river Tine, and ſubjecting all thoſe quarters, waſted alſo the Picts and Britiſh beyond: but Guthrun, Oſkitell, and Anwynd, other three of their kings, moving from Rependune, came with a great army to Grantbrig, and remained there a whole year. But Alfred that ſummer propoſing to try his fortune with a fleet at ſea (for he had found that the want of ſhipping and neglect of navigation had expoſed the land to theſe piracies) met with ſeven Daniſh rovers, took one, the reſt eſcaping; an acceptable ſucceſs from ſo ſmall a beginning: for the Engliſh at that time were but little experienced in ſea-affairs. The next ‖ year's firſt motion of the Danes was towards Warham caſtle, where Alfred meeting them, either by policy, or their doubt of his power, Ethelwerd ſaith, by money brought them to ſuch terms of peace, as that they ſwore to him upon a hallo[illegible] bracelet, others ſay upon certain ¶ relics (a ſolemn oa[illegible]ems, which they never vouchſafed before to a[illegible]er nation) forthwith to depart the land: but falſ[illegible]ing that oath, by night with all the horſe they had [illegible]ſter ſaith **, ſlaying all the horſemen he had) ſtole to

* Poſt Chriſt. 872. Sax. an. † Poſt Chriſt. 873. Sax. an. Camd. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 874. Sax. an. § Poſt Chriſt. 875. Sax. an. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 876. Sax. an. ¶ Florent. ** Florent.

Exeter,

Exeter, and there wintered. In Northumberland, Hafden their king began to ſettle, to divide the land, to till, and to inhabit. Mean-while they in the weſt, who were marched to Exeter, entered the city, courſing now and then to Warham; but their fleet the next * year, ſailing or rowing about the weſt, met with ſuch a tempeſt near to Swanſwich or Gnavewic, as wrecked one hundred and twenty of their ſhips, and left the reſt eaſy to be maſtered by thoſe galleys, which Alfred had ſet there to guard the ſeas, and ſtraiten Exeter of proviſion. He the while beleaguering † them in the city, now humbled with the loſs of their navy, (two navies, ſaith Aſſer, the one at Gnavewic, the other at Swanwine) diſtreſſed them ſo, as that they gave him as many hoſtages as he required, and as many oaths, to keep their covenanted peace, and kept it. For the ſummer coming on, they departed into Mercia, whereof part they divided among themſelves, part left to Kelwulf their ſubſtituted king. The twelfthtide following ‡, all oaths forgotten, they came to Chippenham in Wiltſhire, diſpeopling the countries round, diſpoſſeſſing ſome, driving others beyond the ſea; Alfred himſelf with a ſmall company was forced to keep within woods and fenny places, and for ſome time all alone, as Florent-ſaith, ſojourned with Dunwulf a ſwineherd, made afterwards for his devotion and aptneſs to learning biſhop of Wincheſter. Hafden and the brother of Hinguar § coming with twenty three ſhips from North Wales, where they had made great ſpoil, landed in Devonſhire, nigh to a ſtrong caſtle named Kinwith; where, by the garriſon iſſuing forth unexpectedly, they were ſlain with twelve hundred of their men. ‖ Mean-while the king about Eaſter, not deſpairing of his affairs, built a fortreſs at a place called Athelney in Somerſetſhire, therein valiantly defending himſelf and his followers, frequently ſallying forth. The ſeventh week after he rode out to a place called Ecbryt-ſtone in the eaſt part of Selwood: thither reſorted to him with much gratulation the Somerſet and Wiltſhire men, with many out of Hampſhire, ſome of whom a little before had fled their

* Poſt Chriſt. 877. Sax. an. † Aſſer. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 878. Sax. an. § Sim. Dun. ‖ Aſſer.

country;

country; with theſe marching to Ethandune, now Edindon in Wiltſhire, he gave battle to the whole Daniſh power, and put them to flight *. Then beſieging their caſtle, within fourteen days took it. Malmſbury writes, that in this time of his receſs, to go a ſpy into the Daniſh camp, he took upon him with one ſervant the habit of a fidler; by this means gaining acceſs to the king's table, and ſometimes to his bed chamber, got knowledge of their ſecrets, their careleſs encamping, and thereby this opportunity of aſſailing them on a ſudden. The Danes, by this misfortune broken, gave him more hoſtages, and renewed their oaths to depart out of his kingdom. Their king Gytro or Gothrun offered willingly to receive baptiſm †, and accordingly came with thirty of his friends to a place called Aldra or Aulre, near to Athelney, and were baptized at Wedmore; where Alfred received him out of the font, and named him Athelſtan. After which they abode with him twelve days, and were diſmiſſed with rich preſents. Whereupon the Danes removed next ‡ year to Cirenceſter, thence peaceably to the Eaſt-Angles; which Alfred, as ſome write, had beſtowed on Gothrun to hold of him; the bounds whereof may be read among the laws of Alfred. Others of them went to Fulham on the Thames, and joining there with a great fleet newly come into the river, thence paſſed over into France and Flanders, both which they entered ſo far conquering or waſting, as witneſſed ſufficiently, that the French and Flemiſh were no more able than the Engliſh, by policy or proweſs, to keep off that Daniſh inundation from their land. § Alfred thus rid of them, and intending for the future to prevent their landing; three years after (quiet the mean-while) with more ſhips and better provided puts to ſea, and at firſt met with four of theirs, whereof two he took, throwing the men overboard, then with two others, wherein two were of their princes, and took them alſo, but not without ſome loſs of his own. || After three years another fleet of them appeared on theſe ſeas, ſo huge that one part of them thought themſelves ſufficient to enter upon Eaſt-France, the other came

* Camden. † Camden. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 879. Sax. an. § Poſt Chriſt. 882. Sax. an. || Poſt Chriſt. 885. Sax. an.

to Rocheſter, and beleagured it; they within ſtoutly defending themſelves, till Alfred with great forces, coming down upon the Danes, drove them to their ſhips, leaving for haſte all their horſes behind them. *The ſame year Alfred ſent a fleet toward the Eaſt-Angles, then inhabited by the Danes, which, at the mouth of Stour, meeting with ſixteen Daniſh ſhips, after ſome fight took them all, and ſlew all the ſoldiers on board; but in their way home lying careleſs, were overtaken by another part of that fleet, and came off with loſs: whereupon perhaps thoſe Danes, who were ſettled among the Eaſt-Angles, erected with new hopes, violated the peace which they had ſworn to Alfred †, who ſpent the next year in repairing London (beſieging, ſaith Huntingdon) much ruined and unpeopled by the Danes; the Londoners, all but thoſe who had been led away captive ‡, ſoon returned to their dwellings, and Ethred, duke of Mercia, was by the king appointed their governour. § But after thirteen years reſpite of peace, another Daniſh fleet of two hundred and fifty ſail, from the caſt part of France, arrived at the mouth of a river in Eaſt-Kent, called Limen, nigh to the great wood Andred, famous for length and breadth; into that wood they drew up their ſhips four miles from the river's mouth, and built a fortreſs. After whom Haeſten, with another Daniſh fleet of eighty ſhips, entering the mouth of Thames, built a fort at Middleton, the former army remaining at a place called Apeltre. Alfred, perceiving this, took of thoſe Danes who dwelt in Northumberland a new oath of fidelity, and of thoſe in Eſſex hoſtages, leſt they ſhould join, as they were wont, with their countrymen newly arrived. || And by the next year having got together his forces, between either army of the Danes encamped ſo as to be ready for either of them, who firſt ſhould happen to ſtir forth; troops of horſe alſo he ſent continually abroad, aſſiſted by ſuch as could be ſpared from ſtrong places, wherever the countries wanted them, to encounter foraging parties of the enemy. The king alſo divided ſometimes his whole army, marching out with one part

* Sim. Dun. † Poſt Chriſt. 886. Sax. an. ‡ Sim. Dun. § Poſt Chriſt. 893. Sax. an. || Poſt Chriſt. 894. Sax. an.

by

by turns, the other keeping intrenched. In concluſion rolling up and down, both ſides met at Farnham in Surrey; where the Danes by Alfred's horſe troops were put to flight, and croſſing the Thames to a certain iſland near Coln in Eſſex, or as Camden thinks by Colebrook, were beſieged there by Alfred till proviſion failed the beſiegers, another part ſtaid behind with their king wounded. Mean-while Alfred preparing to reinforce the ſiege of Colney, the Danes of Northumberland, breaking faith, came by ſea to the Eaſt-Angles, and with a hundred ſhips coaſting ſouthward, landed in Devonſhire, and beſieged Exeter; thither Alfred haſted with his powers, except a ſquadron of Welſh that came to London: with whom the citizens marching forth to Beamflet, where Haeſten the Dane had built a ſtrong fort, and left a garriſon, while he himſelf with the main of his army was entered far into the country, luckily ſurpriſe the fort, maſter the garriſon, make prey of all they find there; their ſhips alſo they burnt or brought away with good booty, and many priſoners, among whom the wife and two ſons of Haeſten were ſent to the king, who forthwith ſet them at liberty. Whereupon Haeſten gave oath of amity and hoſtages to the king; he in requital, whether freely or by agreement, a ſum of money. Nevertheleſs, without regard of faith given, while Alfred was buſied about Exeter, joining with the other Daniſh army, he built another caſtle in Eſſex at Shoberie, thence marching weſtward by the Thames, aided with the Northumbrian and Eaſt-Angliſh Danes, they came at length to Severn, pillaging all in their way. But Ethred, Ethelm, and Ethelnoth, the king's captains, with united forces pitched nigh to them at Buttingtun, on the Severn bank in Montgomeryſhire *, the river running between, and there many weeks attended; the king mean-while blocking up the Danes who beſieged Exeter, having eaten part of their horſes, the reſt urged with hunger broke forth to their fellows, who lay encamped on the eaſt ſide of the river, and were all there diſcomfited with ſome loſs of valiant men on the king's party; the reſt fled back to Eſſex, and their fortreſs there. Then Laſ,

* Camden.

one of their leaders, gathered before winter a great army of Northumbrian and Eaſt-Angliſh Danes, who leaving their money, ſhips, and wives with the Eaſt-Angles, and marching day and night, ſat down before a city in the weſt called Wirheal near to Cheſter, and took it ere they could be overtaken. The Engliſh after two days ſiege, hopeleſs to diſlodge them, waſted the country round to cut off from them all proviſion, and departed. * Soon after which, next year, the Danes no longer able to hold Wirheal, deſtitute of victuals, entered North Wales; thence laden with ſpoils, part returned into Northumberland, others to the Eaſt-Angles as far as Eſſex, where they ſeized on a ſmall iſland called Mereſig. And here again the annals record them to beſiege Exeter, but without coherence of ſenſe or ſtory. † Others relate to this purpoſe, that returning by ſea from the ſiege of Exeter, and in their way landing on the coaſt of Suſſex, they of Chicheſter ſallied out and ſlew of them many hundreds, taking alſo ſome of their ſhips. The ſame year they who poſſeſſed Mereſig, intending to winter thereabout, drew up their ſhips, ſome into the Thames, others into the river Lee, and on the bank thereof built a caſtle twenty miles from London; to aſſault which, the Londoners aided with other forces marched out the ſummer following, but were ſoon put to flight, loſing four of the king's captains. ‡ Huntingdon writes quite the contrary, that theſe four were Daniſh captains, and the overthrow theirs: but little credit is to be placed in Huntingdon ſingle. For the king thereupon with his forces lay encamped nearer the city, that the Danes might not infeſt them in time of harveſt; in the mean time, ſubtilely deviſing to turn Lee ſtream ſeveral ways, whereby the Daniſh bottoms were left on dry ground: which they ſoon perceiving, marched over land to Quatbrig on the Severn, built a fortreſs, and wintered there; while their ſhips left in Lee were either broken or brought away by the Londoners; but their wives and children they had left in ſafety with the Eaſt-Angles. § The next year was peſtilent, and beſides the common ſort, took

* Poſt Chriſt. 895. Sax. an. † Sim. Dun. Florent. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 896. Sax. an. § Poſt Chriſt. 897. Sax. an.

away

away many great earls, Kelmond in Kent, Brithulf in Eſſex, Wulfred in Hampſhire, with many others; and to this evil the Danes in Northumberland and Eaſt-Angles ceaſed not to endamage the Weſt Saxons, eſpecially by ſtealth, robbing on the ſouth ſhore in certain long galleys. But the king cauſing to be built others twice as long as uſually were built, and ſome of ſixty or ſeventy oars higher, ſwifter and ſteadier than ſuch as were in uſe before either with Danes or Friſons, his own invention, ſome of theſe he ſent out againſt ſix Daniſh pirates, who had done much harm in the Iſle of Wight, and parts adjoining. The bickering was doubtful and intricate, part on the water, part on the ſands; not without loſs of ſome eminent men on the Engliſh ſide. The pirates at length were either ſlain or taken, two of them ſtranded; the men brought to Wincheſter, where the king then was, were executed by his command; one of them eſcaped to the Eaſt-Angles, her men much wounded: the ſame year not fewer than twenty of their ſhips periſhed on the ſouth coaſt with all their men. And Rollo the Dane or Norman landing here, as Mat. Weſt. writes, though not in what part of the iſland, after an unſucceſsful fight againſt thoſe forces which firſt oppoſed him, ſailed into France and conquered the country, ſince that time called Normandy. This is the ſum of what paſſed in three years againſt the Danes, returning out of France, ſet down ſo perplexly by the Saxon annaliſt, ill-gifted with utterance, as with much ado can be underſtood ſometimes what is ſpoken, whether meant of the Danes, or of the Saxons. After which troubleſome time, Alfred enjoying three years of peace, by him ſpent, as his manner was, not idly or voluptuouſly, but in all virtuous employments both of mind and body, becoming a prince of his renown, ended his days in the year nine hundred *, the fifty firſt of his age, the thirtieth of his reign, and was buried regally at Wincheſter: he was born at a place called Wanading in Berkſhire, his mother Oſburga, the daughter of Oſlac the king's cupbearer, a Goth by nation, and of noble deſcent. He was of perſon comelier than all his brethren, of pleaſing

* Poſt Chriſt. 900. Aſſer.

tongue and graceful behaviour, ready wit and memory; yet through the fondneſs of his parents towards him, had not been taught to read till the twelfth year of his age; but the great deſire of learning, which was in him, ſoon appeared by his conning of Saxon poems day and night, which with great attention he heard by others repeated. He was beſides excellent at hunting, and the new art then of hawking, but more exemplary in devotion, having collected into a book certain prayers and pſalms, which he carried ever with him in his boſom to uſe on all occaſions. He thirſted after all liberal knowledge, and oft complained, that in his youth he had no teachers, in his middle age ſo little vacancy from wars and the cares of his kingdom; yet leiſure he found ſometimes, not only to learn much himſelf, but to communicate thereof what he could to his people, by tranſlating books out of Latin into Engliſh, Oroſius, Boethius, Beda's hiſtory and others; permitted none unlearned to bear office, either in court or commonwealth. At twenty years of age, not yet reigning, he took to wife Egelſwitha the daughter of Ethelred a Mercian earl. The extremities which befel him in the ſixth of his reign, Neothan abbot told him, were juſtly come upon him for neglecting in his younger days the complaint of ſuch as injured and oppreſſed repaired to him, as then ſecond perſon in the kingdom, for redreſs; which neglect, were it ſuch indeed, were yet excuſable in a youth, through jollity of mind unwilling perhaps to be detained long with ſad and ſorrowful narrations; but from the time of his undertaking regal charge, no man more patient in hearing cauſes, more inquiſitive in examining, more exact in doing juſtice, and providing good laws, which are yet extant; more ſevere in puniſhing unjuſt judges or obſtinate offenders. Thieves eſpecially and robbers, to the terrour of whom in croſs ways were hung upon a high poſt certain chains of gold, as it were daring any one to take them thence; ſo that juſtice ſeemed in his days not to flouriſh only, but to triumph: no man than he more frugal of two precious things in man's life, his time and his revenue; no man wiſer in the diſpoſal of both. His time, the day and night, he diſtributed by the burning

of certain tapers into three equal portions; the one was for devotion, the other for public or private affairs, the third for bodily refreſhment; how each hour paſſed, he was put in mind by one who had that office. His whole annual revenue, which his firſt care was ſhould be juſtly his own, he divided into two equal parts; the firſt he employed to ſecular uſes, and ſubdivided thoſe into three, the firſt to pay his ſoldiers, houſehold ſervants and guard, of which divided into three bands, one attended monthly by turn; the ſecond was to pay his architects and workmen, whom he had got together of ſeveral nations; for he was alſo an elegant builder, above the cuſtom and conceit of Engliſhmen in thoſe days: the third he had in readineſs to relieve or honour ſtrangers according to their worth, who came from all parts to ſee him, and to live under him. The other equal part of his yearly wealth he dedicated to religious uſes, thoſe of four ſorts; the firſt to relieve the poor, the ſecond to the building and maintenance of two monaſteries, the third of a ſchool, where he had perſuaded the ſons of many noblemen to ſtudy ſacred knowledge and liberal arts, ſome ſay at Oxford *; the fourth was for the relief of foreign churches, as far as India to the ſhrine of St. Thomas, ſending thither Sigelm biſhop of Sherburn, who both returned ſafe, and brought with him many rich gems and ſpices; gifts alſo and a letter he received from the patriarch at Jeruſalem; ſent many to Rome, and from them received relics. Thus far, and much more might be ſaid of his noble mind, which rendered him the mirror of princes; his body was diſeaſed in his youth with a great ſoreneſs in the ſiege, and that ceaſing of itſelf, with another inward pain of unknown cauſe, which held him by frequent fits to his dying day: yet not diſenabled to ſuſtain thoſe many glorious labours of his life both in peace and war.

EDWARD the Elder.

EDWARD the ſon of Alfred ſucceeded †, in learning not equal, in power and extent of dominion ſurpaſſing his

* Malmſ. † Ibid

father. The beginning of his reign had much diſturbance by Ethelwald an ambitious young man *, ſon of the king's uncle, or couſin german, or brother, for his genealogy is variouſly delivered. He vainly avouching to have equal right with Edward of ſucceſſion to the crown poſſeſſed himſelf of Winburn in Dorſet †, and another town diverſly named, giving out that there he would live or die; but encompaſſed with the king's forces at Badbury a place nigh, his heart failing him, he ſtole out by night, and fled to the Daniſh army beyond Humber. The king ſent after him, but not overtaking, found his wife in the town, whom he had married out of a nunnery, and commanded her to be ſent back thither. ‡ About this time the Kentiſh men againſt a multitude of Daniſh pirates fought proſperouſly at a place called Holme, as Hoveden records. Ethelwald, aided by the Northumbrians with ſhipping, three years after §, ſailing to the Eaſt-Angles, perſuaded the Danes there to fall into the king's territory, who marching with him as far as Crecklad, and paſſing the Thames there, waſted as far beyond as they durſt venture, and laden with ſpoils returned home. The king with his powers making ſpeed after them, between the Dike and Ouſe, ſuppoſed to be Suffolk and Cambridgeſhire, as far as the fens northward, laid waſte all before him. Thence intending to return, he commanded that all his army ſhould follow him cloſe without delay; but the Kentiſh men, though often called upon, lagging behind, the Daniſh army prevented them, and joined battle with the king: where duke Sigulf and earl Sigelm, with many other of the nobles were ſlain; on the Danes part, Eoric their king, and Ethelwald the author of this war, with others of high note, and of them greater number, but with great ruin on both ſides; yet the Danes kept in their power the burying of their ſlain. Whatever followed upon this conflict, which we read not, the king two years after with the Danes ‖, both of Eaſt-Angles and Northumberland, concluded peace, which continued three

* Hunting. † Poſt Chriſt. 901. Sax. an. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 902. § Poſt Chriſt. 905. Sax. an. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 907. Sax. an.

years,

years, by whomſoever broken: for at the end thereof* king Edward, raiſing great forces out of Weſt-Sex and Mercia, ſent them againſt the Danes beyond Humber; where ſtaying five weeks, they made great ſpoil and ſlaughter. The king offered them terms of peace, but they rejecting all entered with the next year into Mercia†, rendering no leſs hoſtility than they had ſuffered; but at Tetnal in Staffordſhire, ſaith Florent, were by the Engliſh in a ſet battle overthrown. King Edward, then in Kent, had got together of ſhips about a hundred ſail, others gone ſouthward came back and met him. The Danes, now ſuppoſing that his main forces were upon the ſea, took liberty to rove and plunder up and down, as hope of prey led them, beyond Severn. ‡ The king gueſſing what might embolden them, ſent before him the lighteſt of his army to entertain them; then following with the reſt, ſet upon them in their return over Cantbrig in Glouceſterſhire, and ſlew many thouſands, among whom Ecwils, Hafden, and Hinguar their kings, and many other harſh names in Huntingdon; the place alſo of this fight is variouſly written, by Ethelwerd and Florent called Wodensfield. § The year following, Ethred the duke of Mercia, to whom Alfred had given London, with his daughter in marriage, now dying, king Edward reſumed that city, and Oxford, with the countries adjoining, into his own hands; and the year after ‖ built, or much repaired by his ſoldiers, the town of Hertford on either ſide Lee; and having a ſufficient number at the work, marched about middle ſummer with the other part of his forces into Eſſex, and encamped at Maldon, while his ſoldiers built Witham; where a good part of the country, ſubject formerly to the Danes, yielded themſelves to his protection. ** Four years after (Florent allows but one year) the Danes from Leiceſter and Northampton, falling into Oxfordſhire, committed much rapine, and in ſome towns thereof great ſlaughter; while another party waſting Hert-

* Poſt Chriſt. 910. Sax. an. † Poſt Chriſt. 911. Sax. an. ‡ Ethelwerd. § Poſt Chriſt. 912. Sax. an. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 913. Sax. an. ** Poſt Chriſt. 917. Sax. an.

fordſhire,

fordſhire, met with other fortune: for the country people, inured now to ſuch kind of incurſions, joining ſtoutly together, fell upon the ſpoilers, and recovered their own goods, with ſome booty from their enemies. About the ſame time Elfled the king's ſiſter ſent her army of Mercians into Wales, who routed the Welſh *, took the caſtle of Bricnan-mere by Brecknock, and brought away the king's wife of that country, with other priſoners. Not long after ſhe took Derby from the Danes, and the caſtle by a ſharp aſſault. † But the year enſuing brought a new fleet of Danes to Lidwic in Devonſhire, under two leaders, Otter and Roald; who ſailing thence weſtward about the land's end, came up to the mouth of Severn; there landing waſted the Welſh coaſt, and Irchenfield part of Herefordſhire; where they took Kuneleac a Britiſh biſhop, for whoſe ranſom king Edward gave forty pound: but the men of Hereford and Glouceſterſhire aſſembling put them to flight; ſlaying Roald and the brother of Otter, with many more, purſued them to a wood, and there beſet compelled them to give hoſtages of preſent departure. The king with his army ſat not far off, ſecuring from the ſouth of Severn to Avon; ſo that openly they durſt not, by night they twice ventured to land; but found ſuch welcome that few of them came back; the reſt anchored by a ſmall iſland, where many of them famiſhed; then ſailing to a place called Deomed, they croſſed into Ireland. The king with his army went to Buckingham, ſtaid there a month, and built two caſtles or forts on either bank of Ouſe ere his departing; and Turkitel a Daniſh leader, with thoſe of Bedford and Northampton, yielded him ſubjection. ‡ Whereupon the next year he came with his army to the town of Bedford, took poſſeſſion thereof, ſtaid there a month, and gave order to build another part of the town, on the ſouth ſide of Ouſe. § Thence the year following went again to Maldon, repaired and fortified the town. Turkitel the Dane having ſmall hope to thrive here, where things with ſuch

* Huntingd. Cam l. † Poſt Chriſt. 918. Sax. an. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 919. Sax. an. § Poſt Chriſt. 920. Sax. an.

prudence

prudence were managed againſt his intereſt, got leave of the king, with as many voluntaries as would follow him, to paſs into France. * Early the next year king Edward reedified Tovecheſter, now Torcheſter; and another city in the annals called Wigingmere. Mean-while the Danes in Leiceſter and Northamptonſhire, not liking perhaps to be neighboured with ſtrong towns, laid ſiege to Torcheſter; but they within repelling the aſſault one whole day till ſupplies came, quitted the ſiege by night; and purſued cloſe by the beſieged, between Birnwud and Ailſbury were ſurpriſed, many of them made priſoners, and much of their baggage loſt. Other of the Danes at Huntingdon, aided from the Eaſt-Angles, finding that caſtle not commodious, left it, and built another at Temsford, judging that place more opportune from whence to make their excurſions; and ſoon after went forth with deſign to aſſail Bedford: but the garriſon iſſuing out ſlew a great part of them, the reſt fled. After this a greater army of them, gathered out of Mercia and the Eaſt-Angles, came and beſieged the city called Wigingmere a whole day; but finding it defended ſtoutly by them within, thence alſo departed, driving away much of their cattle: whereupon the Engliſh, from towns and cities round about joining forces, laid ſiege to the town and caſtle of Temsford, and by aſſault took both; ſlew their king with Toglea a duke, and Mannan his ſon an earl, with all the reſt there found; who choſe to die rather than yield. Encouraged by this, the men of Kent, Surrey, and part of Eſſex, enterpriſe the ſiege of Colcheſter, nor gave over till they won it, ſacking the town and putting to ſword all the Danes therein, except ſome who eſcaped over the wall. To the ſuccour of theſe a great number of Danes inhabiting ports and other towns in the Eaſt-Angles united their force; but coming too late, as in revenge beleagured Maldon: but that town alſo timely relieved, they departed, not only fruſtrate of their deſign, but ſo hotly purſued, that many thouſands of them loſt their lives in the flight. Forthwith king Edward with his Weſt-Saxons went to Paſs-

* Poſt Chriſt. 921. Sax. an.

ham

ham upon Ouſe, there to guard the paſſage, while others were building a ſtone wall about Torcheſter; to him there earl Thurfert, and other lord Danes, with their army thereabout, as far as Weolud, came and ſubmitted. Whereat the king's ſoldiers joyfully cried out to be diſmiſſed home: therefore with another part of them he entered Huntingdon, and repaired it, where breaches had been made; all the people thereabout returning to obedience. The like was done at Colcheſter by the next remove of his army; after which both Eaſt and Weſt-Angles, and the Daniſh forces among them, yielded to the king, ſwearing allegiance to him both by ſea and land: the army alſo of Danes at Grantbrig, ſurrendering themſelves, took the ſame oath. The ſummer following * he came with his army to Stamford, built a caſtle there on the ſouth ſide of the river, where all the people of theſe quarters acknowledged him ſupreme. During his abode there, Elfled his ſiſter, a martial woman, who after her huſband's death would no more marry, but gave herſelf to public affairs, repairing and fortifying many towns, warring ſometimes, died at Tamworth the chief ſeat of Mercia, whereof by gift of Alfred her father ſhe was lady or queen; whereby that whole nation became obedient to king Edward, as did alſo North Wales, with Howel, Cledaucus, and Jeothwell, their kings. Thence paſſing to Nottingham, he entered and repaired the town, placed there part Engliſh, part Danes, and received fealty from all in Mercia of either nation. † The next autumn, coming with his army into Cheſhire, he built and fortified Thelwel; and while he ſtaid there, called another army out of Mercia, which he ſent to repair and fortify Mancheſter. ‡ About midſummer following he marched again to Nottingham, built a town over againſt it on the ſouth ſide of that river, and with a bridge joined them both; thence journied to a place called Bedecanwillan in Pictland; there alſo built and fenced a city on the borders, where the king of Scots did him honour as to his ſovereign,

* Poſt Chriſt. 922. Sax. an. † Poſt Chriſt. 923. Sax. an.
‡ Poſt Chriſt. 924.

together

together with the whole Scottiſh nation; the like did Reginald and the ſon of Eadulf, Daniſh princes, with all the Northumbrians, both Engliſh and Danes. The king alſo of a people thereabout called Streatgledwalli (the North-Welſh, as Camden thinks, of Strat-Cluid in Denbighſhire, perhaps rather the Britiſh of Cumberland) did him homage, and not undeſerved. * For Buchanan himſelf confeſſes, that this king Edward, with a ſmall number of men compared to his enemies, overthrew in a great battle the whole united power both of Scots and Danes, ſlew moſt of the Scottiſh nobility, and forced Malcolm, whom Conſtantine the Scotch king had made general, and deſigned heir of his crown, to ſave himſelf by flight ſore wounded. Of the Engliſh he makes Athelſtan the ſon of Edward chief leader; and ſo far ſeems to confound times and actions, as to make this battle the ſame with that fought by Athelſtan about twenty four years after at Bruneford, againſt Anlaf and Conſtantine, whereof hereafter. But here Buchanan † takes occaſion to inveigh againſt the Engliſh writers, upbraiding them with ignorance, who affirm Athelſtan to have been ſupreme king of Britain, Conſtantine the Scottiſh king with others to have held of him: and denies that in the annals of Marianus Scotus any mention is to be found thereof; which I ſhall not ſtand much to contradict, for in Marianus, whether by ſurname or by nation Scotus, will be found as little mention of any other Scottiſh affairs, till the time of king Dunchad ſlain by Machetad, or Macbeth, in the year 1040: which gives cauſe of ſuſpicion, that the affairs of Scotland before that time were ſo obſcure, as to be unknown to their own countrymen, who lived and wrote his chronicle not long after. But king Edward thus nobly doing, and thus honoured, the year ‡ following died at Farendon; a builder and reſtorer even in war, not a deſtroyer of his land. He had by ſeveral wives many children; his eldeſt daughter Edgith he gave in marriage to Charles king of France, grandchild of Charles the Bald above-mentioned; of the reſt in place convenient. His laws are yet to be ſeen.

* Buch. l. 6. † Buch. l. 6. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 925. Sax. an. Huntingd. Mat. Weſt.

He

He was buried at Wincheſter, in the monaſtery, by Alfred his father. And a few days after him died Ethelwerd his eldeſt ſon, the heir of his crown. He had the whole iſland in ſubjection, yet ſo as petty kings reigned under him *. In Northumberland, after Ecbert whom the Danes had ſet up, and the Northumbrians, yet unruly under their yoke, at the end of ſix years had expelled, one Ricſig was ſet up king, and bore the name three years; then another Ecbert, and Guthred; the latter, if we believe legends, of a ſervant made king by command of St. Cudbert, in a viſion; and enjoined by another viſion of the ſame ſaint, to pay well for his royalty many lands and privileges to his church and monaſtery. But now to the ſtory.

ATHELSTAN.

ATHELSTAN, next in age to Ethelward his brother, who deceaſed untimely few days before, though born of a concubine, yet for the great appearance of many virtues in him, and his brethren being yet under age, was exalted to the throne at Kingſton upon Thames, † and by his father's laſt will, ſaith Malmſbury, yet not without ſome oppoſition of one Alfred and his accomplices; who not liking he ſhould reign, had conſpired to ſeize on him after his father's death, and to put out his eyes. But the conſpirators diſcovered, and Alfred, denying the plot, § was ſent to Rome, to aſſert his innocence before the pope; where taking his oath on the altar, he fell down immediately, and carried out by his ſervants, three days after died. Mean-while beyond Humber the Danes, though much awed, were not idle. Ingualid, one of their kings, took poſſeſſion of York; Sitric, who ſome years || before had ſlain Niel his brother, by force took Davenport in Cheſhire; and however he defended theſe doings, grew ſo inconſiderable, ‡ that Athelſtan with great ſolemnity gave him his ſiſter Edgith to wife: but he enjoyed her not long, dying ere the year's end; nor his ſons Anlaf and Guthfert the kingdom, driven out the next ** year

* Sim. Dun. † Poſt Chriſt. 926. § Malmſ. || Sim. Dun. ‡ Malmſ. Mat. Weſt. ** Poſt Chriſt. 927. Sax. an.

by

by Athelſtan: not unjuſtly ſaith Huntingdon, as being firſt raiſers of the war. Simeon calls him Gudfrid a Britiſh king, whom Athelſtan this year drove out of his kingdom; and perhaps they were both one, the name and time not much differing, the place only miſtaken. Malmſbury differs in the name alſo, calling him Adulf a certain rebel. Them alſo I wiſh as much miſtaken, who write that Athelſtan, jealous of his younger brother Edwin's towardly virtues, leſt added to the right of birth they might ſome time or other call in queſtion his illegitimate precedence, cauſed him to be drowned in the ſea*; expoſed, ſome ſay, with one ſervant in a rotten bark, without ſail or oar; where the youth far off land, and in rough weather deſpairing, threw himſelf overboard; the ſervant, more patient, got to land, and reported the ſucceſs. But this Malmſbury confeſſes to be ſung in old ſongs, not read in warrantable authors: and Huntingdon ſpeaks as of a ſad accident to Athelſtan, that he loſt his brother Edwin by ſea; far the more credible, in that Athelſtan, as it is written by all, tenderly loved and bred up the reſt of his brethren, of whom he had no leſs cauſe to be jealous. And the year† following he proſpered better than from ſo foul a fact, paſſing into Scotland with great puiſſance, both by ſea and land, and chaſing his enemies before him, by land as far as Dunfeoder and Wertermore, by ſea as far as Cathneſs. The cauſe of this expedition, ſaith Malmſbury, was to demand Guthfert the ſon of Sitric, thither fled, though not denied at length by Conſtantine, who with Eugenius king of Cumberland, at a place called Dacor or Dacre in that ſhire, ſurrendered himſelf and each his kingdom to Athelſtan, who brought back with him for hoſtage the ſon of Conſtantine§. But Guthfert eſcaping in the mean while out of Scotland, and Conſtantine, exaſperated by this invaſion, perſuaded Anlaf, the other ſon of Sitric, then fled into Ireland, ‖ others write Anlaf king of Ireland and the Iſles, his ſon-in-law, with ſix hundred and fifteen ſhips, and the king of Cumberland with other forces, to his aid. This within

* Poſt Chriſt. 933. Sim. Dun. † Poſt Chriſt. 934. Sax. an. Sim. Dun. § Florent. ‖ Florent. Sim. Dun.

four

four years * effected, they entered England by Humber, and fought with Athelſtan at a place called Wendune, others term it Brunanburg, others Bruneford, which Ingulf places beyond Humber, Camden in Glendale of Northumberland on the Scotch borders; the bloodieſt fight, ſay authors, that ever this iſland ſaw: to deſcribe which the Saxon annaliſt, wont to be ſober and ſuccinct, whether the ſame or another writer, now labouring under the weight of his argument, and overcharged, runs on a ſudden into ſuch extravagant fancies and metaphors, as bear him quite beſide the ſcope of being underſtood. Huntingdon, though himſelf peccant enough in this kind, tranſcribes him word for word as a paſtime to his readers. I ſhall only ſum up what of him I can attain, in uſual language. The battle was fought eagerly from morning to night; ſome fell of king Edward's old army, tried in many a battle before; but on the other ſide great multitudes, the reſt fled to their ſhips. Five kings, and ſeven of Anlaf's chief captains were ſlain on the place, with Froda a Norman leader; Conſtantine eſcaped home, but loſt his ſon in the fight, if I underſtand my author; Anlaf by ſea to Dublin, with a ſmall remainder of his great hoſt. Malmſbury relates this war, adding many circumſtances after this manner: that Anlaf, joining with Conſtantine and the whole power of Scotland, beſides thoſe which he brought with him out of Ireland, came on far ſouthwards, till Athelſtan, who had retired on ſet purpoſe to be the ſurer of his enemies, encloſed from all ſuccour and retreat, met him at Bruneford. Anlaf perceiving the valour and reſolution of Athelſtan, and miſtruſting his own forces, though numerous, reſolved firſt to ſpy in what poſture his enemies lay: and imitating perhaps what he heard attempted by king Alfred the age before, in the habit of a muſician, got acceſs by his lute and voice to the king's tent, there playing both the minſtrel and the ſpy: then towards evening diſmiſſed, he was obſerved by one who had been his ſoldier, and well knew him, viewing earneſtly the king's tent, and what approaches lay about it, then in the twilight to depart.

* Poſt Chriſt. 938. Sax. an. Malmſ.

The

The ſoldier forthwith acquaints the king, and by him blamed for letting go his enemy, anſwered, that he had given firſt his military oath to Anlaf, whom if he had betrayed, the king might ſuſpect him of like treaſonous mind towards himſelf; which to diſprove, he adviſed him to remove his tent a good diſtance off: and ſo done, it happened that a biſhop, with his retinue coming that night to the army, pitched his tent in the ſame place from whence the king had removed. Anlaf, coming by night as he had deſigned, to aſſault the camp, and eſpecially the king's tent, finding there the biſhop inſtead, ſlew him with all his followers. Athelſtan took the alarm, and as it ſeems, was not found ſo unprovided, but that the day now appearing, he put his men in order, and maintained the fight till evening; wherein Conſtantine himſelf was ſlain with five other kings, and twelve earls; the annals were content with ſeven, in the reſt not diſagreeing. Ingulf abbot of Croyland, from the authority of Turketul a principal leader in this battle, relates it more at large to this effect: That Athelſtan, above a mile diſtant from the place where execution was done upon the biſhop and his ſupplies, alarmed at the noiſe, came down by break of day upon Anlaf and his army, overwatched and wearied now with the ſlaughter they had made, and ſomething out of order, yet in two main battles. The king, therefore in like manner dividing, led the one part, conſiſting moſt of Weſt Saxons, againſt Anlaf with his Danes and Iriſh, committing the other to his chancellor Turketul, with the Mercians and Londoners, againſt Conſtantine and his Scots. The ſhower of arrows and darts overpaſſed, both battles attacked each other with a cloſe and terrible engagement, for a long ſpace neither ſide giving ground. Till the chancellor Turketul, a man of great ſtature and ſtrength, taking with him a few Londoners of ſelect valour, and Singin who led the Worceſterſhire men, a captain of undaunted courage, broke into the thickeſt, making his way firſt through the Picts and Orkeners, then through the Cumbrians and Scots, and came at length where Conſtantine himſelf fought, unhorſed him, and uſed all means to take him alive; but the Scots valiantly defend-

ing their king, and laying load upon Turketul, which the goodneſs of his armour well endured, he had yet been beaten down, had not Singin his faithful ſecond at the ſame time ſlain Conſtantine; which once known, Anlaf and the whole army betook them to flight, whereof a huge multitude fell by the ſword. This Turketul, not long after leaving worldly affairs, became abbot of Croyland, which at his own coſt he had repaired from Daniſh ruins, and left there this memorial of his former actions. Athelſtan with his brother Edmund victorious thence turning into Wales, with much more eaſe vanquiſhed Ludwal the king, and poſſeſſed his land. But Malmſbury writes, that commiſerating human chance, as he diſplaced, ſo he reſtored both him and Conſtantine to their regal ſtate: for the ſurrender of king Conſtantine hath been above ſpoken of. However the Welſh did him homage at the city of Hereford, and covenanted yearly payment of gold twenty pound, of ſilver three hundred, of oxen twenty five thouſand, beſides hunting dogs and hawks. He alſo took Exeter from the Corniſh Britons, who till that time had equal right there with the Engliſh, and bounded them with the river Tamar, as the other Britiſh with Wey. Thus dreaded of his enemies, and renowned far and near, three years * after he died at Glouceſter, and was buried with many trophies at Malmſbury, where he had cauſed to be laid his two couſin germans, Elwin and Ethelſtan, both ſlain in the battle againſt Anlaf. He was thirty years old at his coming to the crown, mature in wiſdom from his childhood, comely of perſon and behaviour; ſo that Alfred his grandfather in bleſſing him was wont to pray he might live to have the kingdom, and put him yet a child into ſoldier's habit. He had his breeding in the court of Elfled his aunt, of whoſe virtues more than female we have related, ſufficient to evince that his mother, though ſaid to be no wedded wife, was yet ſuch of parentage and worth, as the royal line diſdained not, thought the ſong went in Malmſbury's days (for it ſeems he refuſed not the authority of ballads for want of better) that his mother was a farmer's daughter, but of ex-

* Poſt Chriſt. 941. Sax. an. Malmſ. Ingulf.

cellent

cellent feature; who dreamed one night ſhe brought forth a moon that ſhould enlighten the whole land: which the king's nurſe hearing of took her home and bred up courtly; that the king, coming one day to viſit his nurſe ſaw there this damſel, liked her, and by earneſt ſuit prevailing, had by her this famous Athelſtan, a bounteous, juſt and affable king, as Malmſbury ſets him forth, nor leſs honoured abroad by foreign kings, who ſought his friendſhip by great gifts or affinity; that Harold king of Noricum ſent him a ſhip whoſe prow was of gold, ſails purple, and other golden things, the more to be wondered at, ſent from Noricum, whether meant Norway or Bavaria, the one place ſo far from ſuch ſuperfluity of wealth, the other from all ſea: the embaſſadors were Helgrim and Offrid, who found the king at York. His ſiſters he gave in marriage to greateſt princes; Elgif to Otho ſon of Henry the emperor; Egdith to a certain duke about the Alps; Edgiv to Ludwic king of Aquitain, ſprung of Charles the Great; Ethilda to Hugo king of France, who ſent Aldulf ſon of Baldwin earl of Flanders to obtain her. From all theſe great ſuitors, eſpecially from the emperor and king of France, came rich preſents, horſes of excellent breed, gorgeous trappings and armour, relics, jewels, odours, veſſels of onyx, and other precious things, which I leave poetically deſcribed in Malmſbury, taken, as he confeſſes, out of an old verſifier, ſome of whoſe verſes he recites. The only blemiſh left upon him was the expoſing his brother Edwin, who diſavowed by oath the treaſon whereof he was accuſed, and implored an equal hearing. But theſe were ſongs, as before hath been ſaid, which add alſo that Athelſtan, his anger over, ſoon repented of the fact, and put to death his cupbearer, who had induced him to ſuſpect and expoſe his brother; put in mind by a word falling from the cupbearer's own mouth, who ſlipping one day as he bore the king's cup, and recovering himſelf on the other leg, ſaid aloud fatally, as to him it proved, one brother helps the other. Which words the king laying to heart, and pondering how ill he had done to make away his brother, avenged himſelf firſt on the adviſer of that fact, took on him ſeven years

penance, and as Mat. Weſt. ſaith, built two monaſteries for the ſoul of his brother. His laws are extant among the laws of other Saxon kings to this day.

EDMUND.

EDMUND not above eighteen years * old ſucceeded his brother Athelſtan, in courage not inferior. For in the ſecond of his reign he freed Mercia of the Danes that remained there, and took from them the cities of Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, Derby, and Leiceſter, where they were placed by king Edward, but it ſeems gave not good proof of their fidelity. Simeon writes, that Anlaf ſetting forth from York, and having waſted ſouthward as far as Northampton, was met by Edmund at Leiceſter; but that ere the battles joined, peace was made between them by Odo and Wulſtan the two archbiſhops, with converſion of Anlaf; for the ſame year Edmund received at the fontſtone this or another Anlaf, as ſaith Huntingdon, not him ſpoken of before, who died this year (ſo uncertain they are in the ſtory of theſe times alſo) and held Reginald another king of the Northumbers, while the biſhop confirmed him: their limits were divided north and ſouth by Watlingſtreet. But ſpiritual kindred little availed to keep peace between them, whoever gave the cauſe; for we read him two years † after driving Anlaf (whom the annals now firſt call the ſon of Sitric) and Suthfrid ſon of Reginald out of Northumberland, taking the whole country into ſubjection. Edmund the next § year haraſſed Cumberland, then gave it to Malcolm king of Scots, thereby bound to aſſiſt him in his wars, both by ſea and land. Mat. Weſt. adds, that in this action Edmund had the aid of Leolin prince of North Wales, againſt Dummail the Cumbrian king, him depriving of his kingdom, and his two ſons of their ſight. But the year ‖ after, he himſelf by ſtrange accident came to an untimely death: feaſting with his nobles on St. Auſtin's day at Puclekerke in Glouceſter, to celebrate the memory of his firſt converting the Saxons; he ſpied Leof a noted thief, whom he had baniſhed,

* Poſt Chriſt. 942. Sax. an. † Poſt Chriſt. 944. Sax. an.
§ Poſt Chriſt. 945. Sax an. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 946. Sax an.

ſitting

ſitting among his gueſts: whereat tranſported with too much vehemence of ſpirit, though in a juſt cauſe, riſing from the table he run upon the thief, and catching his hair, pulled him to the ground. The thief, who doubted from ſuch handling no leſs than his death intended, thought to die not unrevenged; and with a ſhort dagger ſtruck the king, who ſtill laid at him, and little expected ſuch aſſaſſination, mortally into the breaſt. The matter was done in a moment, ere men ſat at table could turn them, or imagine at firſt what the ſtir meant, till perceiving the king deadly wounded, they flew upon the murderer and hewed him to pieces; who like a wild beaſt at a bay, ſeeing himſelf ſurrounded, deſperately laid about him, wounding ſome in his fall. The king was buried at Glaſton, whereof Dunſtan was then abbot; his laws yet remain to be ſeen among the laws of other Saxon kings.

EDRED.

EDRED, the third brother of Athelſtan, the ſons of Edmund being yet but children, next reigned, not degenerating from his worthy predeceſſors, and crowned at Kingſton. Northumberland he thoroughly ſubdued, the Scots without refuſal ſwore him allegiance; yet the Northumbrians, ever of doubtful faith, ſoon after choſe to themſelves one Eric a Dane. Huntingdon ſtill haunts us with this Anlaf (of whom we gladly would have been rid) and will have him before Eric recalled once more and reign four years *, then again put to his ſhifts. But Edred entering into Northumberland, and with ſpoils returning, Eric the king fell upon his rear. Edred turning about, both ſhook off the enemy, and prepared to make a ſecond inroad: which the Northumbrians dreading rejected Eric, ſlew Amancus the ſon of Anlaf, and with many preſents appeaſing Edred, ſubmitted again to his government †; nor from that time had kings, but were governed by earls, of whom Oſulf was the firſt. § About this time Wulſtan archbiſhop of York, accuſed

* Poſt Chriſt. 950. Sim. Dun. † Hoved. § Poſt Chriſt. 953. Sim. Dun.

to have ſlain certain men of Thetford in revenge of their abbot, whom the townſmen had ſlain, was committed by the king to cloſe cuſtody; but ſoon after enlarged, was reſtored to his place. Malmſbury writes, that his crime was to have connived at the revolt of his countrymen: but king Edred two years after, * ſickening in the flower of his youth, died much lamented, and was buried at Wincheſter.

EDWI.

Edwi, the ſon of Edmund, now come to age †, after his uncle Edred's death took on him the government, and was crowned at Kingſton. His lovely perſon ſurnamed him the fair, his actions are diverſely reported, by Huntingdon not thought illaudable. But Malmſbury and ſuch as follow him write far otherwiſe, that he married, or kept as concubine, his near kinſwoman §, ſome ſay both her and her daughter; ſo inordinately given to his pleaſure, that on the very day of his coronation he abruptly withdrew himſelf from the company of his peers, whether in banquet or conſultation, to ſit wantoning in the chamber with his Algiva, ſo was her name, who had ſuch power over him. Whereat his barons offended ſent biſhop Dunſtan, the boldeſt among them, to requeſt his return: he, going to the chamber, not only interrupted his dalliance, and rebuked the lady, but taking him by the hand, between force and perſuaſion brought him back to his nobles. The king highly diſpleaſed ‖, and inſtigated perhaps by her who was ſo prevalent with him, not long after ſent Dunſtan into baniſhment, cauſed his monaſtery to be rifled, and became an enemy to all monks and friars. Whereupon Odo archbiſhop of Canterbury pronounced a ſeparation or divorce of the king from Algiva. But that which moſt incited William of Malmſbury againſt him, he gave that monaſtery to be dwelt in by ſecular prieſts, or, to uſe his own phraſe, made it a ſtable of clerks; at length theſe affronts done to the church were ſo reſented by the people, that the

* Poſt Chriſt. 955. Sim. Dun. † Ethelwerd. § Mat. Weſt.
‖ Poſt Chriſt. 956.

Mercians

Mercians and Northumbrians revolted from him, and ſet up Edgar his brother *, leaving to Edwi the Weſt-Saxons only, bounded by the river Thames; with grief whereof, as is thought, he ſoon after ended his days †, and was buried at Wincheſter. Meanwhile § Elfin, biſhop of that place, after the death of Odo aſcending by ſimony to the chair of Canterbury, and going to Rome the ſame year for his pall, was frozen to death in the Alps.

EDGAR.

EDGAR by his brother's death now ‖ king of all England at ſixteen years of age, called home Dunſtan out of Flanders, where he lived in exile. This king had no war all his reign; yet always well prepared for war, governed the kingdom in great peace, honour and proſperity, gaining thence the ſurname of peaceable, much extolled for juſtice, clemency, and all kingly virtues ‡, the more, ye may be ſure, by monks, for his building ſo many monaſteries; as ſome write, every year one: for he much favoured the monks againſt ſecular prieſts, who in the time of Edwi had got poſſeſſion in moſt of their convents. His care and wiſdom was great in guarding the coaſt round with ſtout ſhips to the number of three thouſand ſix hundred. Mat. Weſt. reckons them four thouſand eight hundred, divided into four ſquadrons, to ſail to and fro, about the four quarters of the land, meeting each other; the firſt of twelve hundred ſail from eaſt to weſt, the ſecond of as many from weſt to eaſt, the third and fourth between north and ſouth; himſelf in the ſummer time with his fleet. Thus he kept out wiſely the force of ſtrangers, and prevented foreign war, but by their too frequent reſort hither in time of peace, and his too much favouring them, he let in their vices unaware. Thence the people, ſaith Malmſbury, learned of the outlandiſh Saxons rudeneſs, of the Flemiſh daintineſs and ſoftneſs, of the Danes drunkenneſs; though I doubt theſe vices are as naturally homebred here as in any of thoſe countries. Yet

* Hoved. Mat. Weſt. † Poſt Chriſt. 955. Sax. an. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 959. Malmſ. § Poſt Chriſt. 958. ‡ Mat. Weſt.

in the winter and ſpring time he uſually rode the circuit as a judge itinerant through all his provinces, to ſee juſtice well adminiſtered, and the poor not oppreſſed. Thieves and robbers he rooted almoſt out of the land, and wild beaſts of prey altogether; enjoining Ludwal, king of Wales, to pay the yearly tribute of three hundred wolves, which he did for two years together, till the third year no more were to be found, nor ever after; but his laws may be read yet extant. Whatever was the cauſe, he was not crowned till the thirtieth of his age, but then with great ſplendour and magnificence at the city of Bath, in the feaſt of Pentecoſt. This year * died Swarling a monk of Croyland, in the hundred and forty-ſecond year of his age, and another ſoon after him in the hundred and fifteenth; in that fenny and wateriſh air the more remarkable. King Edgar the next † year went to Cheſter, and ſummoning to his court there all the kings that held of him, took homage of them: their names are Kened king of Scots, Malcolm of Cumberland, Maccuſe of the Iſles, five of Wales, Dufwal, Huwal, Grifith, Jacob, Judethil; theſe he had in ſuch awe, that going one day into a galley, he cauſed them to take each man his oar, and row him down the river Dee, while he himſelf ſat at the ſtern; which might be done in merriment, and eaſily obeyed; if with a ſerious brow, diſcovered rather vainglory, and inſulting haughtineſs, than moderation of mind. And that he did it ſeriouſly triumphing, appears by his words then uttered, that his ſucceſſors might then glory to be kings of England, when they had ſuch honour done them. And perhaps the divine power was diſpleaſed with him for taking too much honour to himſelf; ſince we read, that ‡ the year following he was taken out of this life by ſickneſs in the height of his glory and the prime of his age, buried at Glaſton abbey. The ſame year, as Mat. Weſt relates, he gave to Kened, the Scottiſh king, many rich preſents, and the whole country of Laudian, or Lothien, to hold of him on condition, that he and his ſucceſſors ſhould repair to

* Poſt Chriſt. 973, Sax. an. Ingulf. † Poſt Chriſt. 974. Sax. an.
‡ Poſt Chriſt. 975.

the

the Engliſh court at high feſtivals when the king ſat crowned; gave him alſo many lodging places by the way, which till the days of Henry the ſecond were ſtill held by the kings of Scotland. He was of ſtature not tall, of body ſlender, yet ſo well made, that in ſtrength he choſe to contend with ſuch as were thought ſtrongeſt, and diſliked nothing more, than that they ſhould ſpare him for reſpect, or fear to hurt him. Kened king of Scots, then in the court of Edgar, ſitting one day at table, was heard to ſay jeſtingly among his ſervants, he wondered how ſo many provinces could be held in ſubjection by ſuch a little dapper man: his words were brought to the king's ear; he ſends for Kened as about ſome private buſineſs, and in talk drawing him forth to a ſecret place, takes from under his garment two ſwords, which he had brought with him, gave one of them to Kened; and now, ſaith he, it ſhall be tried which ought to be the ſubject; for it is ſhameful for a king to boaſt at table, and ſhrink in fight. Kened much abaſhed fell preſently at his feet, and beſought him to pardon what he had ſimply ſpoken, no way intended to his diſhonour or diſparagement; wherewith the king was ſatisfied. Camden, in his deſcription of Ireland, cites a charter of king Edgar, wherein it appears he had in ſubjection all the kingdoms of the iſles as far as Norway, and had ſubdued the greateſt part of Ireland with the city of Dublin: but of this other writers make no mention. In his youth having heard of Elfrida, daughter to Ordgar duke of Devonſhire, much commended for her beauty, he ſent earl Athelwold, whoſe loyalty he truſted moſt, to ſee her; intending, if ſhe were found ſuch as anſwered report, to demand her in marriage. He, at the firſt view taken with her preſence, diſloyally, as it oft happens in ſuch employments, began to ſue for himſelf; and with conſent of her parents obtained her. Returning therefore with ſcarce an ordinary commendation of her feature, he eaſily took off the king's mind, ſoon diverted another way. But the matter coming to light how Athelwold had foreſtalled the king, and Elfrida's beauty more and more ſpoken of, the king now heated not only with a relapſe of love, but with a deep ſenſe of the abuſe,

abuſe, yet diſſembling his diſturbance, pleaſantly told the earl, what day he meant to come and viſit him and his fair wife. The earl ſeemingly aſſured his welcome, but in the mean while acquainting his wife, earneſtly adviſed her to deform herſelf what ſhe might, either in dreſs or otherwiſe, leſt the king, whoſe amorous inclination was not unknown, ſhould chance to be attracted. She, who by this time was not ignorant, how Athelwold had ſtepped between her and the king, againſt his coming arrays herſelf richly, uſing whatever art ſhe could deviſe might render her the more amiable; and it took effect. For the king, inflamed with her love the more for that he had been ſo long defrauded and robbed of her, reſolved not only to recover his intercepted right, but to puniſh the interloper of his deſtined ſpouſe; and appointing with him as was uſual a day of hunting, drawn aſide in a foreſt, now called Harewood, ſmote him through with a dart. Some cenſure this act as cruel and tyrannical, but conſidered well, it may be judged more favourably, and that no man of ſenſible ſpirit but in his place, without extraordinary perfection, would have done the like: for next to life what worſe treaſon could have been committed againſt him? It chanced that the earl's baſe ſon coming by upon the fact, the king ſternly aſked him how he liked this game; he ſubmiſsly anſwering, that whatſoever pleaſed the king, muſt not diſpleaſe him; the king returned to his wonted temper, took an affection to the youth, and ever after highly favoured him, making amends in the ſon for what he had done to the father. Elfrida forthwith he took to wife, who to expiate her former huſband's death, though therein ſhe had no hand, covered the place of his bloodſhed with a monaſtery of nuns to ſing over him. Another fault is laid to his charge, no way excuſable, that he took a virgin Wilfrida by force out of the nunnery, where ſhe was placed by her friends to avoid his purſuit, and kept her as his concubine; but lived not obſtinately in the offence; for ſharply reproved by Dunſtan, he ſubmitted to ſeven years penance, and for that time to want his coronation: but why he had it not before, is left unwritten. Another ſtory there

goes of Edgar, fitter for a novel than a hiſtory; but as I find it in Malmſbury, ſo I relate it. While he was yet unmarried, in his youth he abſtained not from women, and coming on a day to Andover, cauſed a duke's daughter there dwelling, reported rare of beauty, to be brought to him. The mother not daring flatly to deny, yet abhorring that her daughter ſhould be ſo deflowered, at fit time of night ſent in her attire one of her waiting maids: a maid it ſeems not unhandſome nor unwitty; who ſupplied the place of her young lady. Night paſſed, the maid going to riſe but daylight ſcarce yet appearing, was by the king aſked why ſhe made ſuch haſte; ſhe anſwered, to do the work which her lady had ſet her; at which the king wondering, and with much ado ſtaying her to unfold the riddle, for he took her to be the duke's daughter, ſhe falling at his feet beſought him, that ſince at the command of her lady ſhe came to his bed, and was enjoyed by him, he would be pleaſed in recompence to ſet her free from the hard ſervice of her miſtreſs. The king a while ſtanding in a ſtudy whether he had beſt be angry or not, at length turning all to a jeſt, took the maid away with him, advanced her above her lady, loved her, and accompanied with her only, till he marred Elfrida. Theſe only are his faults upon record, rather to be wondered how they were ſo few, and ſo ſoon left, he coming at ſixteen to the licence of a ſceptre; and that his virtues were ſo many and mature, he dying before the age wherein wiſdom can in others attain to any ripeneſs: however, with him died all the Saxon glory. From henceforth nothing is to be heard of but their decline and ruin under a double conqueſt, and the cauſes foregoing; which, not to blur or taint the praiſes of their former actions and liberty well defended, ſhall ſtand ſeverally related, and will be more than long enough for another book.

THE END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

THE

HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

THE SIXTH BOOK.

EDWARD the Younger.

EDWARD, the eldeſt ſon of Edgar by Egelfleda his firſt wife, the daughter of duke Ordmer, was according to right and his father's will placed in the throne; Elfrida, his ſecond wife, and her faction only repining, who laboured to have had her ſon Ethelred, a child of ſeven years, preferred before him; that ſhe under that pretence might have ruled all. Meanwhile comets were ſeen in Heaven, portending not famine only, which followed the next year, but the troubled ſtate of the whole realm not long after to enſue. The troubles begun in Edwin's days, between monks and ſecular prieſts, now revived and drew on either ſide many of the nobles into parties. For Elfere duke of the Mercians, with many other peers, corrupted as is ſaid with gifts *, drove the monks out of thoſe monaſteries where Edgar had placed them, and in their ſtead put ſecular prieſts with their wives. But Ethelwin duke of Eaſt-Angels, with his brother Elfwold, and earl Britnorth, oppoſed them, and gathering an army defended the abbeys of Eaſt-Angles from ſuch intruders. To appeaſe theſe tumults, a ſynod was called at Wincheſter; and, nothing there concluded, a general council both of nobles and prelates was held at Caln in Wiltſhire, where while the diſpute was hot, but chiefly againſt Dunſtan, the room wherein they ſat fell upon their heads, killing ſome, maiming others, Dunſtan only eſcaping upon a beam that fell not, and the king abſent by reaſon of his tender age. This accident quieted the controverſy, and brought both parts to hold with Dunſtan and the monks. Meanwhile the king addicted to a religious

* Florent. Sim. Dun.

life,

life, and of a mild ſpirit, ſimply permitted all things to the ambitious will of his ſtepmother and her ſon Ethelred: to whom ſhe, diſpleaſed that the name only of king was wanting, practiſed thenceforth to remove king Edward out of the way; which in this manner ſhe brought about. Edward on a day wearied with hunting, thirſty and alone, while his attendants followed the dogs, hearing that Ethelred and his mother lodged at Corveſgate, (Corfe caſtle, ſaith Camden, in the iſle of Purbeck) innocently went thither. She with all ſhow of kindneſs welcoming him, commanded drink to be brought forth, for it ſeems he lighted not from his horſe; and while he was drinking, cauſed one of her ſervants, privately before inſtructed, to ſtab him with a poniard. The poor youth, who little expected ſuch unkindneſs there, turning ſpeedily the reins, fled bleeding; till through loſs of blood falling from his horſe, and expiring, yet held with one foot in the ſtirrup, he was dragged along the way, traced by his blood, and buried without honour at Werham, having reigned about three years: but the place of his burial not long after grew famous for miracles. After which by duke Elfere, (who, as Malmſbury ſaith *, had a hand in his death) he was royally interred at Skepton or Shaftſbury. The murdereſs Elfrida, at length repenting, ſpent the reſidue of her days in ſorrow and great penance.

ETHELRED.

ETHELRED, ſecond ſon of Edgar by Elfrida (for Edmund died a child) his brother Edward wickedly removed, was now next in right to ſucceed †, and accordingly crowned at Kingſton: reported by ſome, fair of viſage, comely of perſon, elegant of behaviour §; but the event will ſhow, that with many ſluggiſh and ignoble vices he quickly ſhamed his outſide; born and prolonged a fatal miſchief of the people, and the ruin of his country; whereof he gave early ſigns from his firſt in-

* Poſt Chriſt. 978. Malmſ. † Poſt Chriſt. 979. Malmſ.
§ Florent. Sim. Dun.

fancy,

fancy, bewraying the font and water while the biſhop was baptizing him. Whereat Dunſtan much troubled, for he ſtood by and ſaw it, to them next him broke into theſe words, "By God and God's mother, this boy will prove a ſluggard." Another thing is written of him in his childhood; which argued no bad nature, that hearing of his brother Edward's cruel death, he made loud lamentation; but his furious mother, offended therewith, and having no rod at hand, beat him ſo with great wax-candles, that he hated the ſight of them ever after. Dunſtan though unwilling ſet the crown upon his head; but at the ſame time foretold openly, as is reported, the great evils that were to come upon him and the land, in avengement of his brother's innocent blood *. And about the ſame time, one midnight, a cloud ſometimes bloody, ſometimes fiery, was ſeen over all England; and within three years † the Daniſh tempeſt, which had long ſurceaſed, revolved again upon this iſland. To the more ample relating whereof, the Daniſh hiſtory, at leaſt their lateſt and diligenteſt hiſtorian, as neither from the firſt landing of Danes, in the reign of Weſt-Saxon Brithric, ſo now again from firſt to laſt, contributes nothing; buſied more than enough to make out the bare names and ſucceſſions of their uncertain kings, and their ſmall actions at home: unleſs out of him I ſhould tranſcribe what he takes, and I better may, from our own annals; the ſurer and the ſadder witneſſes of their doings here, not glorious, as they vainly boaſt, but moſt inhumanly barbarous. ‡ For the Danes well underſtanding, that England had now a ſlothful king to their wiſh, firſt landing at Southampton from ſeven great ſhips, took the town, ſpoiled the country, and carried away with them great pillage; nor was Devonſhire and Cornwall uninfeſted on the ſhore §, pirates of Norway alſo harried the coaſt of Weſt-cheſter: || and to add a worſe calamity, the city of London was burnt, caſually or not, is not written. ¶ It chanced four years after, that Ethelred be-

* Sim. Dun.
§ Hoved. Malmſ. Ingulf.
† Poſt Chriſt. 982. Malmſ.
|| Sim. Dun. Hoved.
‡ Eadmer. Florent.
¶ Poſt Chriſt. 986.

ſieged

ſieged Rocheſter; ſome way or other offended by the biſhop thereof. Dunſtan, not approving the cauſe, ſent to warn him that he provoke not St. Andrew the patron of that city, nor waſte his lands; an old craft of the clergy to ſecure their church-lands, by entailing them on ſome Saint: the king not hearkening, Dunſtan, on this condition that the ſiege might be raiſed, ſent him a hundred pounds, the money was accepted and the ſiege diſſolved. Dunſtan, reprehending his avarice, ſent him again this word, "Becauſe thou haſt reſpected money more than religion, the evils which I foretold ſhall the ſooner come upon thee; but not in my days, for ſo God hath ſpoken." The next year was calamitous *, bringing ſtrange fluxes upon men, and murrain upon cattle. † Dunſtan the year following died, a ſtrenuous biſhop, zealous without dread of perſon, and for aught appears, the beſt of many ages, if he buſied not himſelf too much in ſecular affairs. He was chaplin at firſt to king Athelſtan, and Edmund who ſucceeded, much employed in court-affairs, till envied by ſome who laid many things to his charge, he was by Edmund forbidden the court; but by the earneſt mediation, ſaith Ingulf, of Turketul the chancellor, received at length to favour, and made abbot of Glaſton; laſtly by Edgar and the general vote, archbiſhop of Canterbury. Not long after his death, the Danes arriving in Devonſhire were met by Goda lieutenant of that country, and Strenwold a valiant leader, who put back the Danes, but with loſs of their own lives. ‡ The third year following, under the conduct of Juſtin and Guthmund the ſon of Steytan, they landed and ſpoiled Ipſwich, fought with Britnoth duke of the Eaſt-Angles about Maldon, where they ſlew him; the ſlaughter elſe had been equal on both ſides. Theſe and the like depredations on every ſide the Engliſh not able to reſiſt, by council of Siric then archbiſhop of Canterbury, and two dukes Ethelward and Alfric, it was though beſt for the preſent to buy that with ſilver,

* Poſt Chriſt. 987. Malmſ. † Poſt Chriſt. 988. Malmſ.
‡ Poſt Chriſt. 991. Sim. Dun.

which

which they could not gain with their iron; and ten thouſand pounds was paid to the Danes for peace. Which for a while contented; but taught them the ready way how eaſieſt to come by more. * The next year but one, they took by ſtorm and rifled Bebbanburg, an ancient city near Durham: ſailing thence to the mouth of Humber, they waſted both ſides thereof, Yorkſhire and Lindſey, burning and deſtroying all before them. Againſt theſe went out three noblemen, Frana, Frithegiſt, and Godwin; but being all Danes by the father's ſide, willingly began flight, and forſook their own forces betrayed to the enemy. † No leſs treachery was at ſea; for Alfric, the ſon of Elfer duke of Mercia, whom the king for ſome offence had baniſhed, but now recalled, ſent from London with a fleet to ſurpriſe the Danes, in ſome place of diſadvantage, gave them over night intelligence thereof, then fled to them himſelf; which his fleet, ſaith Florent, perceiving, purſued, took the ſhip, but miſſed of his perſon; the Londoners by chance grapling with the Eaſt-Angles made them fewer, ſaith my author, by many thouſands. Others ſay ‡, that by this notice of Alfric the Danes not only eſcaped, but with a greater fleet ſet upon the Engliſh, took many of their ſhips, and in triumph brought them up the Thames, intending to beſiege London: for Anlaf king of Norway, and Swane of Denmark, at the head of theſe, came with ninety-four galleys. The king, for this treaſon of Alfric, put out his ſon's eyes; but the Londoners both by land and water ſo valiantly reſiſted their beſiegers, that they were forced in one day, with great loſs to give over. But what they could not on the city, they wrecked themſelves on the countries round about, waſting with ſword and fire all Eſſex, Kent, and Suſſex. Thence horſing their foot, diffuſed far wider their outrageous incurſions, without mercy either to ſex or age. The ſlothful king, inſtead of warlike oppoſition in the field, ſends ambaſſadors to treat

* Poſt Chriſt. 993. Sim. Dun. † Florent. Huntingd. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 994. Sim. Dun.

about

about another payment*; the ſum promiſed was now ſixteen thouſand pounds; till which paid, the Danes wintered at Southampton; Ethelred inviting Anlaf to come and viſit him at Andover†, where he was royally entertained, ſome ſay baptized, or confirmed, adopted ſon by the king, and diſmiſſed with great preſents, promiſing by oath to depart and moleſt the kingdom no more‡; which he performed, but the calamity ended not ſo, for after ſome intermiſſion of their rage for three years§, the other navy of Danes ſailing about to the weſt, entered Severn, and waſted one while South Wales, then Cornwall and Devonſhire, till at length they wintered about Taviſtock. For it were an endleſs work to relate how they wallowed up and down to every particular place, and to repeat as oft what devaſtations they wrought, what deſolations left behind them, eaſy to be imagined. ‖ In ſum, the next year they afflicted Dorſetſhire, Hampſhire, and the Iſle of Wight; by the Engliſh many reſolutions were taken, many armies raiſed, but either betrayed by the falſehood, or diſcouraged by the weakneſs of their leaders, they were put to the rout or diſbanded themſelves. For ſoldiers moſt commonly are as their commanders, without much odds of valour in one nation or other, only as they are more or leſs wiſely diſciplined and conducted. ¶ The following year brought them back upon Kent, where they entered Medway, and beſieged Rocheſter; but the Kentiſh men aſſembling gave them a ſharp encounter, yet that ſufficed not to hinder them from doing as they had done in other places. Againſt theſe depopulations the king levied an army; but the unſkilful leaders not knowing what to do with it when they had it, did but drive out time, burdening and impoveriſhing the people, conſuming the public treaſure, and more emboldening the enemy, than if they had ſat quiet at home. What cauſe moved the Danes next**

* Malmſ. † Ibid. ‡ Huntingd. § Poſt Chriſt. 997. Sim. Dun. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 998. Sim. Dun. ¶ Poſt Chriſt. 999. Sim. Dun. ** Poſt Chriſt. 1000. Sim. Dun.

year to paſs into Normandy, is not recorded; but that they returned thence more outrageous than before. Mean-while the king, to make ſome diverſion, undertakes an expedition both by land and ſea into Cumberland, where the Danes were moſt planted; there and in the Iſle of Man, or, as Camden ſaith, Angleſey, imitating his enemies in ſpoiling and unpeopling. The Danes from Normandy, arriving in the river Ex, laid ſiege to Exeter *; but the citizens, as thoſe of London, valorouſly defending themſelves, they wrecked their anger, as before, on the villages round about. The country people of Somerſet and Devonſhire aſſembling themſelves at Penho, ſhowed their readineſs, but wanted a head; and beſides being then but few in number, were eaſily put to flight; the enemy plundering all at will, with loaded ſpoils paſſed into the Iſle of Wight; from whence all Dorſetſhire and Hampſhire felt again their fury. The Saxon annals write, that before their coming to Exeter, the Hampſhire men had a bickering with them †, wherein Ethelward the king's general was ſlain, adding other things hardly to be underſtood, and in one ancient copy; ſo end. Ethelred, whom no adverſity could awake from his ſoft and ſluggiſh life, ſtill coming by the worſe at fighting, by the advice of his peers not unlike himſelf, ſends one of his gay courtiers, though looking loftily, to ſtoop baſely, and propoſe a third tribute to the Danes: they willingly hearken, but the ſum is enhanced now to twenty-four thouſand pounds, and paid; the Danes thereupon abſtaining from hoſtility. But the king, to ſtrengthen his houſe by ſome potent affinity, marries Emma ‡, whom the Saxons call Elgiva, daughter of Richard duke of Normandy. With him Ethelred formerly had war, or no good correſpondence, as appears by a letter of pope John the fifteenth §, who made peace between them about eleven years before; puffed up now with his ſuppoſed acceſs of ſtrength by this affinity, he cauſed the Danes all over England,

* Poſt Chriſt. 1001. Sim. Dun. † Poſt Chriſt. 1002. Sim. Dun.
‡ Malmſ. § Calviſ.

though

though now living peaceably *, in one day perfidiouſly to be maſſacred, both men, women, and children; ſending private letters to every town and city, whereby they might be ready all at the ſame hour; which till the appointed time (being the ninth of July) was concealed with great ſilence †, and performed with much unanimity; ſo generally hated were the Danes. Mat. Weſt. writes, that this execution upon the Danes was ten years after; that Huna, one of Ethelred's chief captains, complaining of the Daniſh inſolences in time of peace, their pride, their raviſhing of matrons and virgins, incited the king to this maſſacre, which in the madneſs of rage made no difference of innocent or nocent. Among theſe, Gunhildis the ſiſter of Swane was not ſpared, though much deſerving not pity only, but all protection: ſhe, with her huſband earl Palingus coming to live in England, and receiving chriſtianity, had her huſband and young ſon ſlain before her face, herſelf then beheaded, foretelling and denouncing that her blood would coſt England dear. ‡ Some ſay this was done by the traitor Edric, to whoſe cuſtody ſhe was committed; but the maſſacre was ſome years before Edric's advancement; and if it were done by him afterwards, it ſeems to contradict the private correſpondence which he was thought to hold with the Danes. For Swane, breathing revenge, haſted the next year into England §, and by the treaſon or negligence of count Hugh, whom Emma had recommended to the government of Devonſhire, ſacked the city of Exeter, her wall from eaſt to weſt-gate broken down: after this waſting Wiltſhire, the people of that county, and of Hampſhire, came together in great numbers with reſolution ſtoutly to oppoſe him; but Alfric their general, whoſe ſon's eyes the king had lately put out, madly thinking to revenge himſelf on the king, by ruining his own country, when he ſhould have ordered his battle, the enemy being at hand, feigned himſelf taken with a vomiting; whereby his army in great diſcontent, deſtitute of a commander,

* Florent. Huntingd. † Calvil. ‡ Mat. Weſt. § Poſt Chriſt. 1003. Sim. Dun.

turned from the enemy: who ſtraight took Wilton and Saliſbury, carrying the pillage thereof to the ſhips. * Thence the next year landing on the coaſt of Norfolk, he waſted the country, and ſet Norwich on fire; Ulfketel duke of the Eaſt-Angles, a man of great valour, not having ſpace to gather his forces, after conſultation had, thought it beſt to make peace with the Dane, which he breaking within three weeks, iſſued ſilently out of his ſhips, came to Thetford, ſtaid there a night, and in the morning left it flaming. Ulfketel, hearing this, commanded ſome to go and break or burn his ſhips; but they not daring or neglecting, he in the meanwhile with what ſecreſy and ſpeed was poſſible, drawing together his forces, went out againſt the enemy, and gave them a fierce onſet retreating to their ſhips: but much inferiour in number, many of the chief Eaſt-Angles there loſt their lives. Nor did the Danes come off without great ſlaughter of their own; confeſſing that they never met in England with ſo rough a charge. The next year †, whom war could not, a great famine drove Swane out of the land. But the ſummer following ‡, another great fleet of Danes entered the port of Sandwich, thence poured out over all Kent and Suſſex, made prey of what they found. The king levying an army out of Mercia, and the Weſt-Saxons, took on him for once the manhood to go out and face them; but they, who held it ſafer to live by rapine, than to hazard a battle, ſhifting lightly from place to place, fruſtrated the ſlow motions of a heavy camp, following their wonted courſe of robbery, then running to their ſhips. Thus all autumn they wearied out the king's army, which gone home to winter, they carried all their pillage to the Iſle of Wight, and there ſtaid till Chriſtmas; at which time the king being in Shropſhire, and but ill employed (for by the procurement of Edric, he cauſed, as is thought, Alfhelm, a noble duke, treacherouſly to be ſlain §, and the eyes of his two ſons to be put out) they came forth again, overrunning Hampſhire and Berkſhire, as far as Reading

* Poſt Chriſt. 1004. Sim. Dun. † Poſt Chriſt. 1005. Sim. Dun.
‡ Poſt Chriſt. 1006. Sim. Dun. § Florent.

and Wallingford: thence to Aſhdune, and other places thereabout, neither known nor of tolerable pronunciation; and returning by another way, found many of the people in arms by the river Kenet; but making their way through, they got ſafe with vaſt booty to their ſhips. * The king and his courtiers wearied out with their laſt ſummer's jaunt after the nimble Danes to no purpoſe, which by proof they found too toilſome for their ſoft bones, more uſed to beds and couches, had recourſe to their laſt and only remedy, their coffers; and ſend now the fourth time to buy a diſhonourable peace, every time ſtill dearer, not to be had now under thirty ſix thouſand pound (for the Danes knew how to milk ſuch eaſy kine) in name of tribute and expenſes: which out of the people over all England, already half beggared, was extorted and paid. About the ſame time Ethelred advanced Edric, ſurnamed Streon, from obſcure condition to be duke of Mercia, and marry Edgitha the king's daughter. The cauſe of his advancement, Florent of Worceſter, and Mat. Weſt. attribute to his great wealth, gotten by fine policies and a plauſible tongue: he proved a main acceſſory to the ruin of England, as his actions will ſoon declare. Ethelred the next year †, ſomewhat rouſing himſelf, ordained that every three hundred and ten hides (a hide is ſo much land as one plow can ſufficiently till) ſhould ſet out a ſhip or galley, and every nine hides find a corſlet and headpiece: new ſhips in every port were built, victualled, fraught with ſtout mariners and ſoldiers, and appointed to meet all at Sandwich. A man might now think that all would go well; when ſuddenly a new miſchief ſprung up, diſſenſion among the great ones; which brought all this diligence to as little ſucceſs as at other times before. Birthric, the brother of Edric, falſely accuſed Wulnoth, a great officer ſet over the South-Saxons, who, fearing the potency of his enemies, with twenty ſhips got to ſea, and practiſed piracy on the coaſt. Againſt whom, reported to be in a place where he might be eaſily ſurpriſed, Birthric ſets forth with eighty ſhips; all which, driven

* Poſt Chriſt. 1007. Sim. Dun. † Poſt Chriſt. 1008. Sim. Dun.

back by a tempeſt and wrecked upon the ſhore, were burnt ſoon after by Wulnoth. Diſheartened with this misfortune, the king returns to London, the reſt of his navy after him; and all this great preparation to nothing. Whereupon Turkill, a Daniſh earl, came with a navy to the iſle of Tanet*, and in Auguſt a far greater, led by Heming and Ilaf, joined with him. Thence coaſting to Sandwich, and landed, they went onward and began to aſſault Canterbury; but the citizens and Eaſt-Kentiſh men, coming to compoſition with them for three thouſand pounds, they departed thence to the Iſle of Wight, robbing and burning by the way. Againſt theſe the king levies an army through all the land, and in ſeveral quarters places them nigh the ſea, but ſo unſkilfully or unſucceſsfully, that the Danes were not thereby hindered from exerciſing their wonted robberies. It happened that the Danes were one day gone up into the country far from their ſhips; the king having notice thereof, thought to intercept them in their return; his men were reſolute to overcome or die, time and place advantageous; but where courage and fortune was not wanting, there wanted loyalty among them. Edric with ſubtile arguments, that had a ſhow of deep policy, diſputed and perſuaded the ſimplicity of his fellow counſellors, that it would be beſt conſulted at that time to let the Danes paſs without ambuſh or interception. The Danes, where they expected danger finding none, paſſed on with great joy and booty to their ſhips. After this, ſailing about Kent, they lay that winter in the Thames, forcing Kent and Eſſex to contribution, ofttimes attempting the city of London, but repulſed as oft to their great loſs. Spring begun, leaving their ſhips, they paſſed through Chiltern wood into Oxfordſhire†, burnt the city, and thence returning with divided forces, waſted on both ſides the Thames; but hearing that an army from London was marched out againſt them, they on the north ſide paſſing the river at Stanes, joined with them on the ſouth into one body, and enriched with great

* Poſt Chriſt. 1009. Sim. Dun. Florent.

† Poſt Chriſt. 1010. Sim. Dun.

ſpoils,

ſpoils, came back through Surrey to their ſhips; which all the Lent-time they repaired. After Eaſter ſailing to the Eaſt-Angles they arrived at Ipſwich, and came to a place called Ringmere, where they heard that Ulfketel with his forces lay, who with a ſharp encounter ſoon entertained them; but his men at length giving back, through the ſubtlety of a Daniſh ſervant among them who began the flight, loſt the field; though the men of Cambridgeſhire ſtood to it valiantly. In this battle Ethelſtan, the king's ſon-in-law, with many other noblemen, were ſlain; whereby the Danes, without more reſiſtance, three months together had the ſpoiling of thoſe countries and all the fens, burnt Thetford and Grantbrig, or Cambridge; thence to a hilly place not far off, called by Huntingdon, Baleſham, by Camden, Gogmagog hills, and the villages thereabout they turned their fury, ſlaying all they met ſave one man, who getting up into a ſteeple, is ſaid to have defended himſelf againſt the whole Daniſh army. They therefore ſo leaving him, their foot by ſea, their horſe by land through Eſſex, returned back laden to their ſhips left in the Thames. But many days paſſed not between, when ſallying again out of their ſhips as out of ſavage dens, they plundered over again all Oxfordſhire, and added to their prey Buckingham, Bedford, and Hertfordſhire*; then like wild beaſts glutted returning to their caves. A third excurſion they made into Northamptonſhire, burnt Northampton, ranſacking the country round; then as to freſh paſture betook them to the Weſt-Saxons, and in like ſort haraſſing all Wiltſhire, returned, as I ſaid before, like wild beaſts or rather ſeamonſters to their water-ſtables, accompliſhing by Chriſtmas the circuit of their whole year's good deeds; an unjuſt and inhuman nation, who, receiving or not receiving tribute where none was owing them, made ſuch deſtruction of mankind, and rapine of their livelihood, as is a miſery to read. Yet here they ceaſed not; for the next year† repeating the ſame cruelties on both ſides the Thames, one way as far as Huntingdon, the other as far as Wiltſhire and Southampton,

* Huntingd. † Poſt Chriſt. 1011. Sim. Dun.

ſolicited again by the king for peace, and receiving their demands both of tribute and contribution, they ſlighted their faith; and in the beginning of September laid ſiege to Canterbury. On the twentieth day, by the treachery of Almere the archdeacon, they took part of it and burnt it, committing all ſorts of maſſacre as a ſport; ſome they threw over the wall, others into the fire, hung ſome by the privy members; infants, pulled from their mothers breaſts, were either toſſed on ſpears, or carts drawn over them; matrons and virgins by the hair dragged and raviſhed. * Alfage the grave archbiſhop above others hated of the Danes, as in all counſels and actions to his might their known oppoſer, taken, wounded, impriſoned in a noiſome ſhip; the multitude are tithed, and every tenth only ſpared. † Early the next year before Eaſter, while Ethelred and his peers were aſſembled at London, to raiſe now the fifth tribute amounting to forty eight thouſand pound, the Danes at Canterbury propoſe to the archbiſhop ‡, who had been now ſeven months their priſoner, life and liberty, if he paid them three thouſand pound; which he refuſing as not able of himſelf, and not willing to extort it from his tenants, is permitted till the next Sunday to conſider; then hauled before the counſel, of whom Turkill was chief, and ſtill refuſing, they riſe, moſt of them being drunk, and beat him with the blunt ſide of their axes, then thruſt forth deliver him to be pelted with ſtones; till one Thrun a converted Dane, pitying him half dead, to put him out of pain, with a pious impiety, at one ſtroke of his axe on the head diſpatched him. His body was carried to London, and there buried, thence afterward removed to Canterbury. By this time the tribute paid, and peace ſo often violated ſworn again by the Danes, they diſperſed their fleet; forty-five of them, and Turkill their chief ſtaid at London with the king, ſwore him allegiance to defend his land againſt all ſtrangers, on condition only to be fed and clothed by him. But this voluntary friendſhip of Turkill was thought to be deceitful, that ſtaying under this pretence he gave intelli-

* Eadmer. Malmſ. † Poſt Chriſt. 1012. Sim. Dun. ‡ Eadmer.

gence

gence to Swane, when moſt it would be ſeaſonable to come. * In July therefore of the next year, king Swane arriving at Sandwich, made no ſtay there, but ſailing firſt to Humber, thence into Trent, landed and encamped at Gainſburrow; whither without delay repaired to him the Northumbrians, with Uthred their earl; thoſe of Lindſey alſo, then thoſe of Fiſburg, and laſtly all on the north of Watlingſtreet (which is a highway from eaſt to weſt-ſea) gave oath and hoſtages to obey him. From whom he commanded horſes and proviſion for his army, taking with him beſides bands and companies of their choiceſt men; and committing to his ſon Canute the care of his fleet and hoſtages, he marches towards the South-Mercians, commanding his ſoldiers to exerciſe all acts of hoſtility; with the terrour whereof fully executed, he took in few days the city of Oxford, then Wincheſter; thence tending to London, in his haſty paſſage over the Thames, without ſeeking bridge or ford, loſt many of his men. Nor was his expedition againſt London proſperous; for aſſaying all means by force or wile to take the city, wherein the king then was, and Turkill with his Danes, he was ſtoutly beaten off as at other times. Thence back to Wallingford and Bath, directing his courſe, after uſual havoc made, he ſat a while and refreſhed his army. There Ethelm, an earl of Devonſhire, and other great officers in the weſt, yielded him ſubjection. Theſe things flowing to his wiſh, he betook him to his navy, from that time ſtyled and accounted king of England; if a tyrant, ſaith Simeon, may be called a king. The Londoners alſo ſent him hoſtages, and made their peace, for they feared his fury. Ethelred, thus reduced to narrow compaſs, ſent Emma his queen, with his two ſons had by her, and all his treaſure, to Richard II, her brother, duke of Normandy; himſelf with his Daniſh fleet abode ſome while at Greenwich, then ſailing to the Iſle of Wight, paſſed after Chriſtmas into Normandy; where he was honourably received at Roan by the duke, though known to have born himſelf churliſhly and proudly towards Emma his

* Poſt Chriſt. 1013. Sim. Dun.

ſiſter,

ſiſter, beſides his diſſolute company with other women. Mean-while Swane * ceaſed not to exact almoſt inſupportable tribute of the people, ſpoiling them when he liſted; beſides, the like did Turkill at Greenwich. The next year beginning †, Swane ſickens and dies; ſome ſay terrified and ſmitten by an appearing ſhape of St. Edmund armed, whoſe church at Bury he had threatened to demoliſh; but the authority hereof relies only upon the legend of St. Edmund. After his death the Daniſh army and fleet made his ſon Canute their king; but the nobility and ſtates of England ſent meſſengers to Ethelred, declaring that they preferred none before their native ſovereign, if he would promiſe to govern them better than he had done, and with more clemency. Whereat the king rejoicing ſends over his ſon Edward with embaſſadors, to court both high and low, and win their love, promiſing largely to be their mild and devoted lord, to conſent in all things to their will, follow their counſel, and whatever had been done or ſpoken by any man againſt him, freely to pardon, if they would loyally reſtore him to be their king. To this the people cheerfully anſwered, and amity was both promiſed and confirmed on both ſides. An embaſſy of lords is ſent to bring back the king honourably; he returns in Lent, and is joyfully received of the people, marches with a ſtrong army againſt Canute; who having got horſes and joined with the men of Lindſey, was preparing to make ſpoil in the countries adjoining; but by Ethelred unexpectedly coming upon him, was ſoon driven to his ſhips, and his confederates of Lindſey, left to the anger of their countrymen, executed without mercy both by fire and ſword. Canute in all haſte ſailing back to Sandwich, took the hoſtages given to his father from all parts of England, and with ſlit noſes, ears cropped, and hands chopped off, ſetting them aſhore, departed into Denmark. Yet the people were not diſburdened, for the king raiſed out of them thirty thouſand pound to pay his fleet of Danes at Greenwich. To theſe evils the ſea in October paſſed his bounds, overwhelming many towns

* Malmſ. † Poſt Chriſt. 1014. Sim. Dun. Mat. Weſt.

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in England, and of their inhabitants many thouſands. *The year following, an aſſembly being at Oxford, Edric of Streon having invited two noblemen, Sigeferth and Morcar, the ſons of Earngrun of Seavenburg, to his lodging, ſecretly murdered them; the king, for what cauſe is unknown, ſeized their eſtates, and cauſed Algith the wife of Sigeferth, to be kept at Maidulfſburg, now Malmſbury; whom Edmund the prince there married againſt his father's mind, then went and poſſeſſed their lands, making the people there ſubject to him. Mat. Weſtm. ſaith, that theſe two were of the Danes who had ſeated themſelves in Northumberland, ſlain by Edric under colour of treaſon laid to their charge. They who attended them without, tumulting at the death of their maſters †, were beaten back; and driven into a church, defending themſelves were burnt there in the ſteeple. Mean-while Canute returning from Denmark with a great navy §, two hundred ſhips richly gilded and adorned, well fraught with arms and all proviſion; and, which Encomium Emmæ mentions not, two other kings, Lachman of Sweden, Olav of Norway, arrived at Sandwich: and, as the ſame author then living writes, ſent out ſpies to diſcover what reſiſtance on land was to be expected; who returned with certain report, that a great army of Engliſh was in readineſs to oppoſe them. Turkill, who upon the arrival of theſe Daniſh powers kept faith no longer with the Engliſh, but joining now with Canute ‖, as it were now to reingratiate himſelf after his revolt, whether real or complotted, counſelled him (being yet young) not to land, but to leave to him the management of this firſt battle: the king aſſented, and he with the forces which he had brought, and part of thoſe which arrived with Canute, landing to their wiſh, encountered the Engliſh, though double in number, at a place called Scoraſtan, and was at firſt beaten back with much loſs. But at length animating his men with rage only and deſpair, obtained a clear victory, which won him great reward and poſſeſſions from Canute. But of

* Poſt Chriſt. 1015. Sim. Dun. † Malmſ. § Leges Edw. Conf. Tit. deduct. Norm. ‖ Encom. Em.

this

this action no other writer makes mention. From Sandwich therefore ſailing about to the river Frome, and there landing, over all Dorſet, Somerſet, and Wiltſhire he ſpread waſteful hoſtility *. The king lay then ſick at Coſham in this county; though it may ſeem ſtrange how he could lie ſick there in the midſt of his enemies. Howbeit Edmund in one part, and Edric of Streon in another, raiſed forces by themſelves; but ſo ſoon as both armies were united, the traitor Edric being found to practiſe againſt the life of Edmund, he removed with his army from him; whereof the enemy took great advantage. Edric eaſily enticing the forty ſhips of Danes to ſide with him, revolted to Canute: the Weſt-Saxons alſo gave pledges, and furniſhed him with horſes. By which means the † year enſuing, he with Edric the traitor paſſing the Thames at Creclad, about twelfthtide, entered into Mercia, and eſpecially Warwickſhire, depopulating all places in their way. Againſt theſe prince Edmund, for his hardineſs called Ironſide, gathered an army; but the Mercians refuſed to fight unleſs Ethelred with the Londoners came to aid them; and ſo every man returned home. After the feſtival, Edmund, gathering another army, beſought his father to come with the Londoners, and what force beſides he was able; they came with great ſtrength gotten together, but being come, and in a hopeful way of good ſucceſs, it was told the king, that unleſs he took the better heed, ſome of his own forces would fall off and betray him. The king daunted with this perhaps cunning whiſper of the enemy, diſbanding his army, returns to London. Edmund betook him into Northumberland, as ſome thought to raiſe freſh forces; but he with earl Uthred on the one ſide, and Canute with Edric on the other, did little elſe but waſte the provinces; Canute to conquer them, Edmund to puniſh them who ſtood neuter: for which cauſe Stafford, Shropſhire, and Leiceſterſhire, felt heavily his hand; while Canute, who was ruining the more ſouthern ſhires, at length marched into Northumberland; which Edmund hearing diſmiſſed his forces, and came to London.

* Camd. † Poſt Chriſt. 1016. Sim. Dun.

don. Uthred the earl haſted back to Northumberland, and finding no other remedy, ſubmitted himſelf with all the Northumbrians, giving hoſtages to Canute. Nevertheleſs by his command or connivance, and the hand of one Turebrand a Daniſh lord, Uthred was ſlain, and Iric another Dane made earl in his ſtead. This Uthred, ſon of Walteof, as Simeon writes, in his treatiſe of the ſiege of Durham, in his youth obtained a great victory againſt Malcolm, ſon of Kened king of Scots, who with the whole power of his kingdom was fallen into Northumberland, and laid ſiege to Durham. Walteof the old earl, unable to reſiſt, had ſecured himſelf in Bebbanburg, a ſtrong town; but Uthred gathering an army raiſed the ſiege, ſlew moſt of the Scots, their king narrowly eſcaping, and with the heads of their ſlain fixed upon poles beſet round the walls of Durham. The year of this exploit Simeon clears not, for in 969, and in the reign of Ethelred, as he affirms, it could not be. Canute by another way returning ſouthward, joyful of his ſucceſs, before Eaſter came back with all the army to his fleet. About the end of April enſuing, Ethelred, after a long, troubleſome, and ill-governed reign, ended his days at London, and was buried in the church of St. Paul.

EDMUND IRONSIDE.

After the deceaſe of Ethelred, they of the nobility who were then at London, together with the citizens, choſe * Edmund his ſon (not by Emma, but a former wife the daughter of earl Thored) in his father's room; but the archbiſhops, abbots, and many of the nobles aſſembling together, elected Canute; and coming to Southampton where he then remained, renounced before him all the race of Ethelred, and ſwore him fidelity: he alſo ſwore to them, in matters both religious and ſecular, to be their faithful lord. † But Edmund, with all ſpeed going to the Weſt-Saxons, was joyfully received of them as their king, and of many other provinces by

* Florent. Aelred in the life of Edw. Conf. † Florent. Sim. Dun.

their

their example. Mean-while Canute about mid May came with his whole fleet up the river to London; then cauſing a great dike to be made on Surrey ſide, turned the ſtream, and drew his ſhips thither weſt of the bridge; then begirting the city with a broad and deep trench, aſſailed it on every ſide; but repulſed as before by the valorous defendants, and in deſpair of ſucceſs at that time, leaving part of his army for the defence of his ſhips, with the reſt ſped him to the Weſt-Saxons, ere Edmund could have time to aſſemble all his powers; who yet with ſuch as were at hand, invoking divine aid, encountered the Danes at Pen by Gillingham in Dorſetſhire, and put him to flight. After midſummer, increaſed with new forces, he met with him again at a place called Sheraſtan, now Sharſtan; but Edric, Almar, and Algar, with the Hampſhire and Wiltſhire men, then ſiding with the Danes, he only maintained the fight, obſtinately fought on both ſides, till night and wearineſs parted them. Daylight returning renewed the conflict, wherein the Danes appearing inferiour, Edric to diſhearten the Engliſh cuts off the head of one Oſmer, in countenance and hair ſomewhat reſembling the king, and holding it up, cries aloud to the Engliſh, that Edmund being ſlain, and this his head, it was time for them to fly; which fallacy Edmund perceiving, and openly ſhowing himſelf to his ſoldiers, by a ſpear thrown at Edric, that miſſing him yet ſlew one next him *, and through him another behind, they recovered heart, and lay ſore upon the Danes till night parted them as before: for ere the third morn, Canute, ſenſible of his loſs, marched away by ſtealth to his ſhips at London, renewing there his leaguer. Some would have this battle at Sheraſtan the ſame with that at Scoraſtan before mentioned, but the circumſtance of time permits not, that having been before the landing of Canute, this a good while after, as by the proceſs of things appears. From Sheraſtan or Sharſtan Edmund returned to the Weſt-Saxons, whoſe valour Edric fearing, leſt it might prevail againſt the Danes, ſought pardon of his revolt, and

* Malmſ.

obtaining

obtaining it ſwore loyalty to the king, who now the third time coming with an army from the Weſt-Saxons to London, raiſed the ſiege, chaſing Canute and his Danes to their ſhips. Then after two days paſſing the Thames at Brentford, and ſo coming on their backs, kept them ſo turned, and obtained the victory; then returns again to his Weſt-Saxons, and Canute to his ſiege, but ſtill in vain; riſing therefore thence, he entered with his ſhips a river then called Arenne; and from the banks thereof waſted Mercia; thence their horſe by land, their foot by ſhip came to Medway. Edmund in the mean while with multiplied forces out of many ſhires croſſing again at Brentford, came into Kent, ſeeking Canute; encountered him at Otford, and ſo defeated, that of his horſe they who eſcaped fled to the iſle of Sheppey; and a full victory he had gained, had not Edric ſtill the traitor by ſome wile or other detained his purſuit: and Edmund who never wanted courage, here wanted prudence to be ſo miſled, ever after forſaken of his wonted fortune. Canute croſſing with his army into Eſſex, thence waſted Mercia worſe than before, and with heavy prey returned to his ſhips: them Edmund with a collected army purſuing overtook at a place called Aſſandune or Aſſeſhill, * now Aſhdown in Eſſex; the battle on either ſide was fought with great vehemence; but perfidious Edric perceiving the victory to incline towards Edmund, with that part of the army which was under him fled, as he had promiſed Canute, and left the king overmatched with numbers: by which deſertion the Engliſh were overthrown, duke Alfric, duke Godwin, and Ulfketel the valiant duke of Eaſt-Angles, with a great part of the nobility ſlain, ſo as the Engliſh of a long time had not received a greater blow. Yet after a while Edmund, not abſurdly called Ironſide, preparing again to try his fortune in another field, was hindered by Edric and others of his faction, adviſing him to make peace and divide the kingdom with Canute. To which Edmund overruled, a treaty appointed, and pledges mutually given, both kings met together at a

* Camd.

place

place called Deorhirſt in Glouceſterſhire ; * Edmund on the weſt ſide of Severn, Canute on the eaſt, with their armies, then both in perſon wafted into an iſland, at that time called Olanege †, now Alney, in the midſt of the river; ſwearing amity and brotherhood, they parted the kingdom between them. Then interchanging arms and the habit they wore, aſſeſſing alſo what pay ſhould be allotted to the navy, they departed each his way. Concerning this interview and the cauſe thereof others write otherwiſe ; Malmſbury, that Edmund grieving at the loſs of ſo much blood ſpilt for the ambition only of two men ſtriving who ſhould reign, of his own accord ſent to Canute, offering him ſingle combat, to prevent in their own cauſe the effuſion of more blood than their own ; that Canute, though of courage enough, yet not unwiſely doubting to adventure his body of ſmall timber, againſt a man of iron ſides, refuſed the combat, offering to divide the kingdom. This offer pleaſing both armies, Edmund was not difficult to conſent ; and the deciſion was, that he as his hereditary kingdom ſhould rule the Weſt-Saxons and all the South, Canute the Mercians and the North. Huntingdon followed by Mat. Weſtm. relates, that the peers on every ſide wearied out with continual warfare, and not refraining to affirm openly that they two who expected to reign ſingly, had moſt reaſon to fight ſingly, the kings were content ; the iſland was their liſts, the combat knightly ; till Knute, finding himſelf too weak, began to parley, which ended as is ſaid before. After which the Londoners bought their peace of the Danes, and permitted them to winter in the city. But king Edmund about the feaſt of St. Andrew unexpectedly deceaſed at London, and was buried near to Edgar his grandfather at Glaſton. The cauſe of his ſo ſudden death is uncertain ; common fame, ſaith Malmſbury, lays the guilt thereof upon Edric, who to pleaſe Canute, allured with promiſe of reward two of the king's privy chamber; though at firſt abhorring the fact, to aſſaſſinate him at the ſtool, by thruſting a ſharp iron into his hinder parts. Hun-

* Camd. † Camd.

tingdon,

tingdon, and Mat. Weſtm. relate it done at Oxford by the ſon of Edric, and ſomething vary in the manner, not worth recital. Edmund dead, Canute meaning to reign ſole king of England, calls to him all the dukes, barons, and biſhops of the land, cunningly demanding of them who were witneſſes what agreement was made between him and Edmund dividing the kingdom, whether the ſons and brothers of Edmund were to govern the Weſt-Saxons after him, Canute living? They who underſtood his meaning, and feared to undergo his anger, timorouſly anſwered, that Edmund they knew had left no part thereof to his ſons or brethren, living or dying; but that he intended Canute ſhould be their guardian, till they came to age of reigning. Simeon affirms, that for fear or hope of reward they atteſted what was not true: notwithſtanding which, he put many of them to death not long after.

CANUTE, or KNUTE.

CANUTE having thus founded the nobility*, and by them underſtood, received their oath of fealty, they the pledge of his bare hand, and oath from the Daniſh nobles; whereupon the houſe of Edmund was renounced, and Canute crowned. Then they enacted, that Edwi brother of Edmund, a prince of great hope, ſhould be baniſhed the realm. But Canute, not thinking himſelf ſecure while Edwi lived, conſulted with Edric how to make him away; who told him of one Ethelward a decayed nobleman, likelieſt to do the work. Ethelward ſent for, and tempted by the king in private with largeſt rewards, but abhorring in his mind the deed, promiſed to do it when he ſaw his opportunity; and ſo ſtill deferred it. But Edwi afterwards received into favour, as a ſnare, was by him, or ſome other of his falſe friends, Canute contriving it, the ſame year ſlain. Edric alſo counſelled him to diſpatch Edward and Edmund, the ſons of Ironſide; but the king doubting that the fact would ſeem too foul done in England, ſent them to the

* Poſt Chriſt. 1017. Sim. Dun. Sax. an.

king of Sweden, with like intent; but he, diſdaining the office, ſent them for better ſafety to Solomon king of Hungary; where Edmund at length died, but Edward married Agatha daughter to Henry the German emperor. A digreſſion in the laws of Edward Confeſſor under the title of Lex Noricorum ſaith, that this Edward, for fear of Canute, fled of his own accord to Maleſclot king of the Rugians, who received him honourably, and of that country gave him a wife. Canute, ſettled in his throne, divided the government of his kingdom into four parts; the Weſt-Saxons to himſelf, the Eaſt-Angles to earl Turkill, the Mercians to Edric, the Northumbrians to Iric; then made peace with all princes round about him, and, his former wife being dead, in July married Emma, the widow of king Ethelred. The Chriſtmas following was an ill feaſt to Edric, of whoſe treaſon the king having now made uſe as much as ſerved his turn, and fearing himſelf to be the next betrayed, cauſed him to be ſlain at London in the palace, thrown over the city wall, and there to lie unburied; the head of Edric fixed on a pole, he commanded to be ſet on the higheſt tower of London, as in a double ſenſe he had promiſed him for the murder of king Edmund to exalt him above all the peers of England. Huntingdon, Malmſbury, and Mat. Weſtm. write, that ſuſpecting the king's intention to degrade him from his Mercian dukedom, and upbraiding him with his merits, the king enraged cauſed him to be ſtrangled in the room, and out at a window thrown into the Thames. Another writes *, that Eric at the king's command ſtruck off his head. Other great men, though without fault, as duke Norman the ſon of Leofwin, Ethelward ſon of duke Agelmar, he put to death at the ſame time, jealous of their power or familiarity with Edric: and notwithſtanding peace, kept ſtill his army; to maintain which, the next year † he ſqueezed out of the Engliſh, though now his ſubjects, not his enemies, ſeventy-two, ſome ſay, eighty two thouſand pound, beſides fifteen thouſand out of London. Mean-while great war aroſe

* Encom. Em. Ingulf. † Poſt Chriſt. 1018. Sim. Dun. Huntingd. Mat. Weſt.

at

at Carr, between Uthred ſon of Waldef, earl of Northumberland, and Malcolm ſon of Kened king of Scots, with whom held Eugenius king of Lothian. But here Simeon the relater ſeems to have committed ſome miſtake, having ſlain Uthred by Canute two years before, and ſet Iric in his place: Iric therefore it muſt needs be, not Uthred, who managed this war againſt the Scots. About which time at a convention of Danes at Oxford, it was agreed on both parties to keep the laws of Edgar; Mat. Weſtm. ſaith of Edward the elder. The next* year Canute ſailed into Denmark, and there abode all winter. Huntingdon and Mat. Weſtm. ſay, he went thither to repreſs the Swedes; and that the night before a battle was fought with them, Godwin, ſtealing out of the camp with his Engliſh, aſſaulted the Swedes, and had got the victory ere Canute in the morning knew of any fight. For which bold enterpriſe, though againſt diſcipline, he had the Engliſh in more eſteem ever after. In the ſpring, at his return into England †, he held in the time of Eaſter a great aſſembly at Chicheſter, and the ſame year was with Turkill the Dane at the dedication of a church by them built at Aſſendune, in the place of that great victory which won him the crown. But ſuſpecting his greatneſs, the year following baniſhed him the realm, and found occaſion to do the like by Iric the Northumbrian earl upon the ſame jealouſy. § Nor yet content with his conqueſt of England, though now above ten years enjoyed, he paſſed with fifty ſhips into Norway, diſpoſſeſſed Olave their king, and ſubdued the land ‖, firſt with great ſums of money ſent the year before to gain him a party, then coming with an army to compel the reſt. Thence returning king of England, Denmark, and Norway, yet not ſecure in his mind, ‡ under colour of an embaſſy ſent into baniſhment Hacun a powerful Dane, who had married the daughter of his ſiſter Gunildis, having conceived ſome ſuſpicion of his practices againſt him: but ſuch courſe was taken, that he never came back; either periſhing at ſea, or

* Poſt Chriſt. 1019. Sim. Dun. † Poſt Chriſt. 1020. Sim. Dun. § Poſt Chriſt. 1021. Sim. Dun. Malmſ. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 1028. Sim. Dun. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 1029. Sim. Dun.

ſlain by contrivance the next * year in Orkney. Canute therefore having thus eſtabliſhed himſelf by bloodſhed and oppreſſion, to waſh away, as he thought, the guilt thereof, ſailing † again into Denmark, went thence to Rome, and offered there to St. Peter great gifts of gold and ſilver, and other precious things; beſides the uſual tribute of Romſcot, giving great alms by the way §, both thither and back again, freeing many places of cuſtom and toll with great expenſe, where ſtrangers were wont to pay, having vowed great amendment of life at the ſepulchre of Peter and Paul, and to his whole people in a large letter written from Rome yet extant. At his return therefore he built and dedicated a church to St. Edmund at Bury, whom his anceſtors had ſlain ‖, threw out the ſecular prieſts, who had intruded there, and placed monks in their ſtead; then going into Scotland, ‡ ſubdued and received homage of Malcolm, and two other kings there, Melbeath and Jermare. Three years ** after; having made Swane, his ſuppoſed ſon by Algiva of Northampton, duke Alfhelm's daughter (for others ſay the ſon of a prieſt, whom Algiva barren †† had got ready at the time of her feigned labour) king of Norway, and Hardecnute, his ſon by Emma, king of Denmark; and deſigned Harold, his ſon by Algiva of Northampton, king of England; died §§ at Shaftſbury, and was buried at Wincheſter in the old monaſtery. This king, as appears, ended better than he began; for though he ſeems to have had no hand in the death of Ironſide, but deteſted the fact, and bringing the murderers, who came to him in hope of great reward, forth among his courtiers, as it were to receive thanks, after they had openly related the manner of their killing him, delivered them to deſerved puniſhment, yet he ſpared Edric, whom he knew to be the prime author of that deteſtable fact; till willing to be rid of him, grown importune upon the confidence of his merits, and upbraided by him that he had firſt relinquiſhed, then extinguiſhed Edmund for his ſake; angry to be ſo up-

* Poſt Chriſt. 1030. Sim. Dun. † Poſt Chriſt. 1031. Sim. Dun.
§ Huntingd. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 1032. Sim. Dun. ‡ Huntingd.
** Poſt Chriſt. 1035. Sim. Dun. †† Florent. §§ Florent.

braided,

braided, therefore ſaid he with a changed countenance, "traitor to God and me, thou ſhalt die; thine own mouth accuſes thee, to have ſlain thy maſter my confederate brother, and the Lord's anointed." * Whereupon although preſent and private execution was in rage done upon Edric, yet he himſelf in cool blood ſcrupled not to make away the brother and children of Edmund, who had better right to be the Lord's anointed here than himſelf. When he had obtained in England what he deſired, no wonder if he fought the love of his conquered ſubjects for the love of his own quiet, the maintainers of his wealth and ſtate for his own profit. For the like reaſon he is thought to have married Emma, and that Richard duke of Normandy her brother might the leſs care what became of Alfred and Edward, her ſons by king Ethelred. He commanded to be obſerved the ancient Saxon laws, called afterwards the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, not that he made them, but ſtrictly obſerved them. His letter from Rome profeſſes, if he had done aught amiſs in his youth, through negligence or want of due temper, full reſolution with the help of God to make amends, by governing juſtly and piouſly for the future; charges and adjures all his officers and viſcounts, that neither for fear of him, or favour of any perſon, or to enrich the king, they ſuffer injuſtice to be done in the land; commands his treaſurers to pay all his debts ere his return home, which was by Denmark, to compoſe matters there; and what his letter profeſſed, he performed all his life after. But it is a fond conceit in many great ones, and pernicious in the end, to ceaſe from no violence till they have attained the utmoſt of their ambitions and deſires; then to think God appeaſed by their ſeeking to bribe him with a ſhare however large of their ill-gotten ſpoils; and then laſtly to grow zealous of doing right, when they have no longer need to do wrong. Howbeit Canute was famous through Europe, and much honoured of Conrade the emperor, then at Rome, with rich gifts and many grants of what he there demanded for the freeing of paſſages

* Malmſ.

from toll and cuſtom. I muſt not omit one remarkable action done by him, as Huntingdon reports it, with great ſcene of circumſtance, and emphatical expreſſion, to ſhow the ſmall power of kings in reſpect of God; which, unleſs to court-paraſites, needed no ſuch laborious demonſtration. He cauſed his royal ſeat to be ſet on the ſhore, while the tide was coming in; and with all the ſtate that royalty could put into his countenance, ſaid thus to the ſea; "Thou ſea belongeſt to me, and the land whereon I ſit is mine; nor hath any one unpuniſhed reſiſted my commands: I charge thee come no farther upon my land, neither preſume to wet the feet of thy ſovereign lord." But the ſea, as before, came rolling on, and without reverence both wet and daſhed him. Whereat the king quickly riſing wiſhed all about him to behold and conſider the weak and frivolous power of a king, and that none indeed deſerved the name of a king, but he whoſe eternal laws both Heaven, earth, and ſea obey. A truth ſo evident of itſelf, as I ſaid before, that unleſs to ſhame his court-flatterers, who would not elſe be convinced, Canute needed not to have gone wetſhod home: the beſt is, from that time forth he never would wear a crown, eſteeming earthly royalty contemptible and vain.

HAROLD.

HAROLD for his ſwiftneſs ſurnamed Harefoot *, the ſon of Canute by Algiva of Northampton, (though ſome ſpeak doubtfully as if ſhe bore him not, but had him of a ſhoemaker's wife, as Swane before of a prieſt; others of a maidſervant, to conceal her barrenneſs) in a great aſſembly at Oxford was by duke Leofric and the Mercians, with the Londoners, according to his father's teſtament, elected king †; but without the regal habiliments, which Ælnot, the archbiſhop, having in his cuſtody, refuſed to deliver up, but to the ſons of Emma, for which Harold ever after hated the clergy; and (as the clergy are wont thence to infer) all religion. Godwin

* Florent. Brompton. Huntingd. Mat. Weſt. † Encom. Em.

earl

earl of Kent, and the Weſt-Saxons with him, ſtood for Hardecnute. Malmſbury ſaith, that the conteſt was between Dane and Engliſh; that the Danes, and Londoners grown now in a manner Daniſh, were all for Hardecnute: but he being then in Denmark, Harold prevailed, yet ſo as that the kingdom ſhould be divided between them; the weſt and ſouth part reſerved by Emma for Hardecnute, till his return. But Harold, once advanced into the throne, baniſhed Emma his mother-in-law, ſeized on his father's treaſure at Wincheſter, and there remained. * Emma, not holding it ſafe to abide in Normandy while duke William the baſtard was yet under age, retired to Baldwin earl of Flanders. In the mean while Elfred and Edward ſons of Ethelred, accompanied with a ſmall number of Norman ſoldiers in a few ſhips, coming to viſit their mother Emma not yet departed the land, and perhaps to ſee how the people were inclined to reſtore them their right, Elfred was ſent for by the king then at London; but in his way met at Gûilford by earl Godwin, who with all ſeeming friendſhip entertained him, was in the night ſurpriſed and made priſoner, moſt of his company put to various ſorts of cruel death, decimated twice over; then brought to London, was by the king ſent bound to Ely, had his eyes put out by the way, and delivered to the monks there, died ſoon after in their cuſtody. Malmſbury gives little credit to this ſtory of Elfred, as not chronicled in his time, but rumoured only. Which Emma however hearing ſent away her ſon Edward, who by good hap accompanied not his brother, with all ſpeed into Normandy. But the author of "Encomium Emmæ," who ſeems plainly (though nameleſs) to have been ſome monk, yet lived, and perhaps wrote within the ſame year when theſe things were done; by his relation, differing from all others, much aggravates the cruelty of Harold, that he, not content to have practiſed in ſecret (for openly he durſt not) againſt the life of Emma, ſought many treacherous ways to get her ſon within his power; and reſolved at length to forge a letter in the name of their mother,

* Poſt Chriſt. 1036. Sim. Dun.

inviting them into England, the copy of which letter he produces written to this purpoſe.

" EMMA in name only queen, to her ſons Edward and Elfred imparts motherly ſalutation. While we ſeverally bewail the death of our lord the king, moſt dear ſons! and while daily you are deprived more and more of the kingdom your inheritance; I admire what counſel ye take, knowing that your intermitted delay is a daily ſtrengthening to the reign of your uſurper, who inceſſantly goes about from town to city, gaining the chief nobles to his party, either by gifts, prayers, or threats. But they had much rather one of you ſhould reign over them, than to be held under the power of him who now overrules them. I entreat therefore, that one of you come to me ſpeedily, and privately, to receive from me wholeſome counſel, and to know how the buſineſs which I intend ſhall be accompliſhed. By this meſſenger preſent, ſend back what you determine. Farewel, as dear both as my own heart."

Theſe letters were ſent to the princes then in Normandy, by expreſs meſſengers, with preſents alſo as from their mother; which they joyfully receiving, return word by the ſame meſſengers, that one of them will be with her ſhortly; naming both the time and place. Elfred therefore the younger (for ſo it was thought beſt) at the appointed time, with a few ſhips and ſmall numbers about him appearing on the coaſt, no ſooner came aſhore but fell into the ſnare of earl Godwin, ſent on purpoſe to betray him; as above was related. Emma greatly ſorrowing for the loſs of her ſon, thus cruelly made away, fled immediately with ſome of the nobles her faithfulleſt adherents into Flanders, had her dwelling aſſigned at Bruges by the earl; where having remained about two years *, ſhe was viſited out of Denmark by Hardecnute her ſon; and he not long had remained with her there, when Harold in England, having done nothing the while worth memory, ſave the taxing of every port at

* Poſt Chriſt. 1039. Sim. Dun. Huntingd.

eight

eight marks of ſilver to ſixteen ſhips, died at London, ſome ſay at Oxford, and was buried at Wincheſter. * After which, moſt of the nobility, both Danes and Engliſh now agreeing, ſend embaſſadors to Hardecnute ſtill at Bruges with his mother, entreating him to come and receive as his right the ſceptre; who before midſummer came with ſixty ſhips, and many ſoldiers out of Denmark.

HARDECNUTE.

HARDECNUTE received with acclamation, and ſeated in the throne, firſt called to mind the injuries done to him or his mother Emma in the time of Harold; ſent Alfric archbiſhop of York, Godwin, and others, with Troud his executioner, to London, commanding them to dig up the body of king Harold, and throw it into a ditch; but by a ſecond order, into the Thames. Whence taken up by a fiſherman, and conveyed to a churchyard in London belonging to the Danes, it was interred again with honour. This done, he levied a ſore tax, that eight marks to every rower, and twelve to every officer in his fleet, ſhould be paid throughout England: by which time they who were ſo forward to call him over had enough of him; for he, as they thought, had too much of theirs. After this he called to account Godwin earl of Kent, and Leving biſhop of Worceſter, about the death of Elfred his half brother, which Alfric the archbiſhop laid to their charge; the king deprived Leving of his biſhopric, and gave it to his accuſer: but the year following, pacified with a round ſum, reſtored it to Leving. † Godwin made his peace by a ſumptuous preſent, a galley with a gilded ſtem bravely rigged, and eighty ſoldiers in her, every one with bracelets of gold on each arm, weighing ſixteen ounces, helmet, corſlet, and hilts of his ſword gilded; a Daniſh curtaxe, liſted with gold or ſilver, hung on his left ſhoulder, a ſhield with boſs and nails gilded in his left hand, in his right a lance; beſides this, he took his oath before the king,

* Poſt Chriſt. 1040. Sim. Dun. Malmſ. † Malmſ.

that

that neither of his own counſel or will, but by the command of Harold, he had done what he did, to the putting out Elfred's eyes. The like oath took moſt of the nobility for themſelves, or in his behalf. * The next year Hardecnute ſending his houſe-carles, ſo they called his officers, to gather the tribute impoſed; two of them, rigorous in their office, were ſlain at Worceſter by the people; whereat the king enraged ſent Leofric duke of Mercia, and Seward of Northumberland, with great forces and commiſſion to ſlay the citizens, rifle and burn the city, and waſte the whole province. Affrighted with ſuch news, all the people fled: the countrymen whither they could, the citizens to a ſmall iſland in Severn, called Beverege, which they fortified and defended ſtoutly till peace was granted them, and freely to return home. But their city they found ſacked and burnt: wherewith the king was appeaſed. This was commendable in him, however cruel to others, that towards his half-brethren, though rivals of his crown, he ſhowed himſelf always tenderly affectioned; as now towards Edward, who without fear came to him out of Normandy, and with unfeigned kindneſs received, remained ſafely and honourably in his court. † But Hardecnute the year following, at a feaſt wherein Oſgod a great Daniſh lord gave his daughter in marriage at Lambeth to Prudon another potent Dane, in the midſt of his mirth, ſound and healthful to ſight, while he was drinking fell down ſpeechleſs, and ſo dying, was buried at Wincheſter beſide his father. He was it ſeems a great lover of good cheer; ſitting at table four times a day, with great variety of diſhes and ſuperfluity to all comers. Whereas, ſaith Huntingdon, in our time princes in their houſes made but one meal a day. He gave his ſiſter Gunildis, a virgin of rare beauty, in marriage to Henry the Alman emperor; and to ſend her forth pompouſly, all the nobility contributed their jewels and richeſt ornaments. But it may ſeem a wonder, that our hiſtorians, if they deſerve that name, ſhould in a matter ſo remarkable, and ſo near their own time, ſo much differ. Huntingdon relates, againſt the

* Poſt Chriſt. 1041. Sim. Dun. † Poſt Chriſt. 1042. Sim. Dun.

credit

credit of all other records, that Hardecnute thus dead, the Engliſh rejoicing at this unexpected riddance of the Daniſh yoke, ſent over to Elfred, the elder ſon of Emma by king Ethelred, of whom we heard but now that he died a priſoner at Ely, ſent thither by Harold ſix years before; that he came now out of Normandy, with a great number of men, to receive the crown; that earl Godwin, aiming to have his daughter queen of England, by marrying her to Edward a ſimple youth, for he thought Elfred of a higher ſpirit than to accept her, perſuaded the nobles, that Elfred had brought over too many Normans, had promiſed them land here, that it was not ſafe to ſuffer a warlike and ſubtle nation to take root in the land, that theſe were to be ſo handled as none of them might dare for the future to flock hither, upon pretence of relation to the king: thereupon by common conſent of the nobles, both Elfred and his company were dealt with as was above related; that they then ſent for Edward out of Normandy, with hoſtages to be left there of their faithful intentions to make him king, and their deſires not to bring over with him many Normans; that Edward at their call came then firſt out of Normandy; whereas all others agree, that he came voluntarily over to viſit Hardecnute, as is before ſaid, and was remaining then in court at the time of his death. For Hardecnute dead, ſaith Malmſbury, Edward, doubting greatly his own ſafety, determined to rely wholly on the advice and favour of earl Godwin; deſiring therefore by meſſengers to have private ſpeech with him, the earl a while deliberated: at laſt aſſenting, prince Edward came, and would have fallen at his feet; but that not permitted, told him the danger wherein he thought himſelf at preſent, and in great perplexity beſought his help, to convey him ſome whither out of the land. Godwin ſoon apprehending the fair occaſion that now as it were prompted him how to advance himſelf and his family, cheerfully exhorted him to remember himſelf the ſon of Ethelred, the grandchild of Edgar, right heir to the crown, at full age; not to think of flying, but of reigning, which might eaſily be brought about, if he would follow his counſel; then ſetting forth the power and authority

authority which he had in England, promiſed it ſhould be all his to ſet him on the throne, if he on his part would promiſe and ſwear to be for ever his friend, to preſerve the honour of his houſe, and to marry his daughter. Edward, as his neceſſity then was, conſented eaſily, and ſwore to whatever Godwin required. An aſſembly of ſtates thereupon met at Gillingham, where Edward pleaded his right; and by the powerful influence of Godwin was accepted. Others, as Brompton, with no probability write, that Godwin at this time was fled into Denmark, for what he had done to Elfred, returned and ſubmitted himſelf to Edward then king, was by him charged openly with the death of Elfred, and not without much ado, by the interceſſion of Leofric and other peers, received at length into favour.

EDWARD the Confeſſor.

GLAD were the Engliſh delivered ſo unexpectedly from their Daniſh maſters, and little thought how near another conqueſt was hanging over them. Edward, the Eaſter following *, crowned at Wincheſter, the ſame year accompanied with earl Godwin, Leofric, and Siward, came again thither on a ſudden, and by their counſel ſeized on the treaſure of his mother Emma. The cauſe alleged is, that ſhe was hard to him in the time of his baniſhment; and indeed ſhe is ſaid not much to have loved Ethelred her former huſband, and thereafter the children by him; ſhe was moreover noted to be very covetous, hard to the poor, and profuſe to monaſteries. † About this time alſo king Edward, according to promiſe, took to wife Edith or Egith earl Godwin's daughter, commended much for beauty, modeſty, and beyond what is requiſite in a woman, learning. Ingulf, then a youth lodging in the court with his father, ſaw her oft, and coming from the ſchool, was ſometimes met by her and poſed, not in grammar only, but in logic. Edward the next year but one ‡ made ready a ſtrong navy

* Poſt Chriſt. 1043. Sim. Dun. † Malmſ. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 1045. Sim. Dun.

at Sandwich againſt Magnus king of Norway, who threatened an invaſion, had not Swane king of Denmark diverted him by a war at home to defend his own land *; not out of good will to Edward, as may be ſuppoſed, who at the ſame time expreſſed none to the Danes, baniſhing Gunildis the niece of Canute with her two ſons, and Oſgod by ſurname Clapa, out of the realm. † Swane, overpowered by Magnus, ſent the next year to entreat aid of king Edward; Godwin gave counſel to ſend him fifty ſhips fraught with ſoldiers; but Leofric and the general voice gainſaying, none were ſent. ‡ The next year Harold Harvager, king of Norway, ſending embaſſadors, made peace with king Edward; but an earthquake at Worceſter and Derby, peſtilence and famine in many places, much leſſened the enjoyment thereof. § The next year Henry the emperor, diſpleaſed with Baldwin earl of Flanders, had ſtraitened him with a great army by land; and ſending to king Edward, deſired him with his ſhips to hinder what he might his eſcape by ſea. The king therefore, with a great navy coming to Sandwich, there ſtaid till the emperor came to an agreement with earl Baldwin. Mean-while Swane ſon of earl Godwin, who, not permitted to marry Edgiva the abbeſs of Cheſter by him deflowered, had left the land, came out of Denmark with eight ſhips, feigning a deſire to return into the king's favour; and Beorn his couſin german, who commanded part of the king's navy, promiſed to intercede, that his earldom might be reſtored him. Godwin therefore and Beorn with a few ſhips, the reſt of the fleet gone home, coming to Pevenſey (but Godwin ſoon departed thence in purſuit of twenty nine Daniſh ſhips, who had got much booty on the coaſt of Eſſex, and periſhed by tempeſt in their return) Swane with his ſhips comes to Beorn at Pevenſey, guilefully requeſts him to ſail with him to Sandwich, and reconcile him to the king, as he had promiſed. Beorn miſtruſting no evil where he intended good, went with him in his ſhip attended by three only of his ſervants:

* Poſt Chriſt. 1046. Sim. Dun. † Poſt Chriſt. 1047. Sim. Dun.
‡ Poſt Chriſt. 1048. Sim. Dun. § Poſt Chriſt. 1049. Sim. Dun.

vants: but Swane, ſet upon barbarous cruelty, not reconciliation with the king, took Beorn now in his power, and bound him; then coming to Dartmouth, ſlew and buried him in a deep ditch. After which the men of Haſtings took ſix of his ſhips, and brought them to the king at Sandwich; with the other two he eſcaped into Flanders, there remaining till Aldred biſhop of Worceſter by earneſt mediation wrought his peace with the king. * About this time king Edward ſent to pope Leo, deſiring abſolution from a vow which he had made in his younger years, to take a journey to Rome, if God vouchſafed him to reign in England; the pope diſpenſed with his vow, but not without the expenſe of his journey given to the poor, and a monaſtery built or reedified to St. Peter; who in a viſion to a monk, as is ſaid, choſe Weſtminſter, which king Edward thereupon rebuilding endowed with large privileges and revenues. The ſame year, ſaith Florent of Worceſter, certain Iriſh pirates with thirty ſix ſhips entered the mouth of Severn, and with the aid of Griffin prince of South Wales, did ſome hurt in thoſe parts: then paſſing the river Wye, burnt Dunedham, and ſlew all the inhabitants they found. Againſt whom Aldred biſhop of Worceſter, with a few out of Glouceſter and Herefordſhire, went out in haſte: but Griffin, to whom the Welſh and Iriſh had privily ſent meſſengers, came down upon the Engliſh with his whole power by night, and early in the morning ſuddenly aſſaulting them, ſlew many, and put the reſt to flight. † The next year but one, king Edward remitted the Daniſh tax which had continued thirty eight years heavy upon the land ſince Ethelred firſt paid it to the Danes, and what remained thereof in his treaſury he ſent back to the owners: but through imprudence laid the foundation of a far worſe miſchief to the Engliſh; while ſtudying gratitude to thoſe Normans, who to him in exile had been helpful, he called them over to public offices here, whom better he might have repaid out of his private purſe; by this means exaſperating either nation one againſt the other, and making way

* Malmſ. † Poſt Chriſt. 1051. Sim. Dun. Ingulf.

by

by degrees to the Norman conqueſt. Robert a monk of that country, who had been ſerviceable to him there in time of need, he made biſhop, firſt of London, then of Canterbury; William his chaplain, biſhop of Dorcheſter. Then began the Engliſh to lay aſide their own ancient cuſtoms, and in many things to imitate French manners, the great peers to ſpeak French in their houſes, in French to write their bills and letters, as a great piece of gentility, aſhamed of their own: a preſage of their ſubjection ſhortly to that people, whoſe faſhions and language they affected ſo ſlaviſhly. But that which gave beginning to many troubles enſuing happened this year, and upon this occaſion. * Euſtace earl of Boloign, father of the famous Godfrey who won Jeruſalem from the Saracens, and huſband to Goda the king's ſiſter, having been to viſit king Edward, and returning by Canterbury to take ſhip at Dover, one of his harbingers, inſolently ſeeking to lodge by force in a houſe there, provoked ſo the maſter thereof, as by chance or heat of anger to kill him. The count, with his whole train going to the houſe where his ſervant had been killed, ſlew both the ſlayer and eighteen more who defended him. But the townſmen running to arms requited him with the ſlaughter of twenty more of his ſervants, wounded moſt of the reſt; he himſelf with one or two hardly eſcaping, ran back with clamour to the king; whom, ſeconded by other Norman courtiers, he ſtirred up to great anger againſt the citizens of Canterbury. Earl Godwin in haſte is ſent for, the cauſe related and much aggravated by the king againſt that city, the earl commanded to raiſe forces, and uſe the citizens thereof as enemies. Godwin, ſorry to ſee ſtrangers more favoured of the king than his native people, anſwered, that "it were better to ſummon firſt the chief men of the town into the king's court, to charge them with ſedition, where both parties might be heard, that not found in fault they might be acquitted: if otherwiſe, by fine or loſs of life might ſatisfy the king, whoſe peace they had broken, and the count whom they

* Malmſ.

had

had injured; till this were done refuſing to proſecute with hoſtile puniſhment them of his own country unheard, whom his office was rather to defend." The king diſpleaſed with his refuſal, and not knowing how to compel him, appointed an aſſembly of all the peers to be held at Glouceſter, where the matter might be fully tried; the aſſembly was full and frequent according to ſummons: but Godwin miſtruſting his own cauſe, or the violence of his adverſaries, with his two ſons, Swane and Harold, and a great power gathered out of his own and his ſons earldoms, which contained moſt of the ſouth-eaſt and weſt parts of England, came no farther than Beverſtan, giving out that their forces were to go againſt the Welſh, who intended an irruption into Herefordſhire; and Swane under that pretence lay with part of his army thereabout. The Welſh underſtanding this device, and with all diligence clearing themſelves before the king, left Godwin detected of falſe accuſation in great hatred to all the aſſembly. Leofric therefore and Siward, dukes of great power, the former in Mercia, the other in all parts beyond Humber, both ever faithful to the king, ſend privily with ſpeed to raiſe the forces of their provinces. Which Godwin not knowing ſent bold to king Edward, demanding count Euſtace and his followers, together with thoſe Boloignians, who, as Simeon writes, held a caſtle in the juriſdiction of Canterbury. The king, as then having but little force at hand, entertained him a while with treaties and delays, till his ſummoned army drew nigh, then rejected his demands. Godwin, thus matched, commanded his ſons not to begin fight againſt the king; begun with, not to give ground. The king's forces were the flower of thoſe counties whence they came, and eager to fall on: but Leofric and the wiſer ſort, deteſting civil war*, brought the matter to this accord; that hoſtages given on either ſide, the cauſe ſhould be again debated at London. Thither the king and lords coming with their army, ſent to Godwin and his ſons (who with their powers were come as far as Southwark) commanding

* Sim. Dun.

their

their appearance unarmed with only twelve attendants, and that the reſt of their ſoldiers they ſhould deliver over to the king. They to appear without pledges before an adverſe faction denied; but to diſmiſs their ſoldiers refuſed not, nor in aught elſe to obey the king as far as might ſtand with honour and the juſt regard of their ſafety. This anſwer not pleaſing the king, an edict was preſently iſſued forth, that Godwin and his ſons within five days depart the land. He, who perceived now his numbers to diminiſh, readily obeyed, and with his wife and three ſons, Toſti, Swane, and Gyrtha, with as much treaſure as their ſhip could carry, embarked at Thorney, ſailed into Flanders to earl Baldwin, whoſe daughter Judith Toſti had married: for Wulnod his fourth ſon was then a hoſtage to the king in Normandy; his other two, Harold and Leofwin, taking ſhip at Briſtow, in a veſſel that lay ready there belonging to Swane, paſſed into Ireland. King Edward, purſuing his diſpleaſure, divorced his wife Edith earl Godwin's daughter, ſending her deſpoiled of all her ornaments to Warewel with one waiting-maid; to be kept in cuſtody by his ſiſter the abbeſs there. * His reaſon of ſo doing was as harſh as his act, that ſhe only, while her neareſt relations were in baniſhment, might not, though innocent, enjoy eaſe at home. After this, William duke of Normandy, with a great number of followers coming into England, was by king Edward honourably entertained, and led about the cities and caſtles, as it were to ſhow him what ere long was to be his own, (though at that time, ſaith Ingulf, no mention thereof paſſed between them) then, after ſome time of his abode here, preſented richly and diſmiſſed, he returned home. † The next year queen Emma died, and was buried at Wincheſter. The chronicle attributed to John Brompton a Yorkſhire abbot, but rather of ſome nameleſs author living under Edward III, or later, reports that the year before, by Robert the archbiſhop ſhe was accuſed both of conſenting to the death of her ſon Alfred, and of preparing poiſon for Edward alſo; laſtly of too much

* Malmſ. † Poſt Chriſt. 1052. Sim. Dun.

familiarity with Alwin biſhop of Wincheſter: that to approve her innocence, praying overnight to St. Swithune, ſhe offered to paſs blindfold between certain ploughſhares redhot, according to the ordalian law, which without harm ſhe performed; that the king thereupon received her to honour, and from her and the biſhop, penance for his credulity; that the archbiſhop, aſhamed of his accuſation, fled out of England: which, beſides the ſilence of ancienter authors (for the biſhop fled not till a year after) brings the whole ſtory into ſuſpicion, in this more probable, if it can be proved, that in memory of this deliverance from the nine burning ploughſhares, queen Emma gave to the abbey of St. Swithune nine manors, and biſhop Alwin other nine. About this time Griffin prince of South Wales waſted Herefordſhire; to oppoſe whom the people of that country, with many Normans, garriſoned in the caſtle of Hereford, went out in arms, but were put to the worſe, many ſlain, and much booty driven away by the Welſh. Soon after which Harold and Leofwin, ſons of Godwin, coming into Severn with many ſhips, in the confines of Somerſet and Dorſetſhire, ſpoiled many villages, and reſiſted by thoſe of Somerſet and Devonſhire, ſlew in a fight more than thirty of their principal men, many of the common ſort, and returned with much booty to their fleet. * King Edward on the other ſide made ready above ſixty ſhips at Sandwich well ſtored with men and proviſion, under the conduct of Odo and Radulf two of his Norman kindred, enjoining them to find out Godwin, whom he heard to be at ſea. To quicken them, he himſelf lay on ſhipboard, oftimes watched and ſailed up and down in ſearch of thoſe pirates. But Godwin, whether in a miſt, or by other accident, paſſing by them, arrived in another part of Kent, and diſperſing ſeveral meſſengers abroad, by fair words allured the chief men of Kent, Surrey, and Eſſex, to his party; which news coming to the king's fleet at Sandwich, they haſted to find him out; but miſſing of him again, came up without effect to London. Godwin, adver-

* Malmſ.

tiſed

tiſed of this, forthwith ſailed to the Iſle of Wight; where at length his two ſons Harold and Leofwin finding him, with their united navy lay on the coaſt, forbearing other hoſtility than to furniſh themſelves with freſh victuals from land as they needed. Thence as one fleet they ſet forward to Sandwich, uſing all fair means by the way to increaſe their numbers both of mariners and ſoldiers. The king then at London, ſtartled at theſe tidings, gave ſpeedy order to raiſe forces in all parts that had not revolted from him; but now too late, for Godwin within a few days after with his ſhips or galleys came up the river Thames to Southwark, and till the tide returned had conference with the Londoners; whom by fair ſpeeches (for he was held a good ſpeaker in thoſe times) he brought to his bent. The tide returned, and none upon the bridge hindering, he rowed up in his galleys along the ſouth bank; where his land-army, now come to him, in array of battle now ſtood on the ſhore; then turning toward the north ſide of the river, where the king's galleys lay in ſome readineſs, and land forces alſo not far off, he made ſhow as offering to fight; but they underſtood one another, and the ſoldiers on either ſide ſoon declared their reſolution not to fight Engliſh againſt Engliſh. Thence coming to treaty, the king and the earl reconciled, both armies were diſſolved, Godwin and his ſons reſtored to their former dignities, except Swane, who, touched in conſcience for the ſlaughter of Beorn his kinſman, was gone barefoot to Jeruſalem, and, returning home, died by ſickneſs or Saracens in Lycia; his wife Edith, Godwin's daughter, king Edward took to him again, dignified as before. Then were the Normans, who had done many unjuſt things under the king's authority, and given him ill counſel againſt his people, baniſhed the realm; ſome of them, not blamable, permitted to ſtay. Robert archbiſhop of Canterbury, William of London, Ulf of Lincoln, all Normans, hardly eſcaping with their followers, got to ſea. The archbiſhop went with his complaint to Rome; but returning, died in Normandy at the ſame monaſtery from whence he came. Oſbern and Hugh ſurrendered their caſtles, and by permiſſion

of Leofric paſſed through his countries with their Normans to Macbeth king of Scotland. * The year following, Rheſe, brother to Griffin, prince of South Wales, who by inroads had done much damage to the Engliſh, taken at Bulendun, was put to death by the king's appointment, and his head brought to him at Glouceſter. The ſame year at Wincheſter, on the ſecond holyday of Eaſter, earl Godwin, ſitting with the king at table, ſunk down ſuddenly in his ſeat as dead: his three ſons, Harold, Toſti, and Girtha, forthwith carried him into the king's chamber, hoping he might revive: but the malady had ſo ſeized him, that the fifth day after he expired. The Normans who hated Godwin give out, ſaith Malmſbury, that mention happening to be made of Elfred, and the king thereat looking ſourly upon Godwin, he, to vindicate himſelf, uttered theſe words: "Thou, O king, at every mention made of thy brother Elfred, lookeſt frowningly upon me; but let God not ſuffer me to ſwallow this morſel, if I be guilty of aught done againſt his life or thy advantage;" that after theſe words, choaked with the morſel taken, he ſunk down and recovered not. His firſt wife was the ſiſter of Canute, a woman of much infamy for the trade ſhe drove of buying up Engliſh youths and maids to ſell in Denmark, whereof ſhe made great gain; but ere long was ſtruck with thunder, and died. † The year enſuing, Siward earl of Northumberland, with a great number of horſe and foot, attended alſo by a ſtrong fleet at the king's appointment, made an expedition into Scotland, vanquiſhed the tyrant Macbeth, ſlaying many thouſands of Scots with thoſe Normans that went thither, and placed Malcolm ſon of the Cumbrian king in his ſtead; yet not without loſs of his own ſon, and many other both Engliſh and Danes. Told of his ſon's death ‡, he aſked whether he received his death's wound before or behind. When it was anſwered, before; "I am glad," ſaith he, "and ſhould not elſe have thought him, hotugh my ſon, worthy of burial." In the mean-

* Poſt Chriſt. 1053. Sim. Dun. † Poſt Chriſt. 1054. Sim. Dun.
‡ Huntingd.

while

while king Edward, being without iſſue to ſucceed him, ſent Aldred biſhop of Wincheſter with great preſents to the emperor, entreating him to prevail with the king of Hungary, that Edward, the remaining ſon of his brother Edmund Ironſide, might be ſent into England. Siward, but one year ſurviving his great victory, died at York *; reported by Huntingdon a man of giantlike ſtature; and by his own demeanour at point of death manifeſted, of a rough and mere ſoldierly mind. For much diſdaining to die in bed by a diſeaſe, not in the field fighting with his enemies, he cauſed himſelf completely armed, and weaponed with battleaxe and ſhield, to be ſet in a chair, whether to fight with death, if he could be ſo vain, or to meet him (when far other weapons and preparations were needful) in a martial bravery; but true fortitude glories not in the feats of war, as they are ſuch, but as they ſerve to end war ſooneſt by a victorious peace. His earldom the king beſtowed on Toſti the ſon of earl Godwin: and ſoon after, in a convention held at London, baniſhed without viſible cauſe, Huntingdon ſaith for treaſon, Algar the ſon of Leofric; who, paſſing into Ireland, ſoon returned with eighteen ſhips to Griffin prince of South Wales, requeſting his aid againſt king Edward. He, aſſembling his powers, entered with him into Hereford ſhire; whom Radulf a timorous captain, ſon to the king's ſiſter, not by Euſtace, but a former huſband, met two miles diſtant from Hereford; and having horſed the Engliſh, who knew better to fight on foot, without ſtroke he with his French and Normans beginning to fly, taught the Engliſh by his example. Griffin and Algar, following the chaſe, ſlew many, wounded more, entered Hereford, ſlew ſeven canons defending the minſter, burnt the monaſtery and reliques, then the city; killing ſome, leading captive others of the citizens, returned with great ſpoils; whereof King Edward having notice gathered a great army at Glouceſter under the conduct of Harold, now earl of Kent, who ſtrenuouſly purſuing Griffin entered Wales, and encamped beyond Straddale. But the enemy flying be-

* Poſt Chriſt. 1055. Sim. Dun.

fore him farther into the country, leaving there the greater part of his army with ſuch as had charge to fight, if occaſion were offered, with the reſt he returned, and fortified Hereford with a wall and gates. Meanwhile Griffin and Algar, dreading the diligence of Harold, after many meſſages to and fro, concluded a peace with him. Algar, diſcharging his fleet with pay at Weſt-Cheſter, came to the king, and was reſtored to his earldom. But Griffin with breach of faith, the next year * ſet upon Leofgar the biſhop of Hereford and his clerks then at a place called Glaſtbrig, with Agelnoth viſcount of the ſhire, and ſlew them; but Leofric, Harold, and king Edward, by force, as is likelieſt, though it be not ſaid how, reduced him to peace. † The next year Edward ſon of Edmund Ironſide, for whom his uncle king Edward had ſent to the emperor, came out of Hungary, deſigned ſucceſſor to the crown; but within a few days after his coming died at London, leaving behind him Edgar Atheling his ſon, Margaret and Chriſtiana his daughters. About the ſame time alſo died earl Leofric in a good old age, a man of no leſs virtue than power in his time, religious, prudent, and faithful to his country, happily wedded to Godiva, a woman of great praiſe. His ſon Algar found leſs favour with king Edward, again baniſhed the year after his father's death ‡, but he again by the aid of Griffin and a fleet from Norway, maugre the king, ſoon recovered his earldom. § The next year Malcolm king of Scots, coming to viſit king Edward, was brought on his way by Toſti the Northumbrian, to whom he ſwore brotherhood: yet the next year but one ‖, while Toſti was gone to Rome with Aldred archbiſhop of York for his pall, this ſworn brother, taking advantage of his abſence, roughly haraſſed Northumberland. The year paſſing to an end without other matter of moment, ſave the frequent inroads and robberies of Griffin, whom no bonds of faith could reſtrain, king Edward ſent againſt

* Poſt Chriſt. 1056. Sim. Dun. † Poſt Chriſt. 1057. Sim. Dun. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 1058. Sim. Dun. § Poſt Chriſt. 1059. ‖ Poſt Chriſt. 1061. Sim. Dun.

him after Chriſtmas Harold now duke of Weſt-Saxons *, with no great body of horſe, from Glouceſter, where he then kept his court; whoſe coming heard of Griffin not daring to abide, nor in any part of his land holding himſelf ſecure, eſcaped hardly by ſea, ere Harold, coming to Rudeland, burnt his palace and ſhips there, returning to Glouceſter the ſame day. † But by the middle of May ſetting out with a fleet from Briſtow, he ſailed about the moſt part of Wales, and met by his brother Toſti with many troops of horſe, as the king had appointed, began to waſte the country; but the Welſh giving pledges, yielded themſelves, promiſed to become tributary, and baniſh Griffin their prince; who lurking ſomewhere was the next year ‡ taken and ſlain by Griffin prince of North Wales; his head with the head and tackle of his ſhip ſent to Harold, by him to the king, who of his gentleneſs made Blechgent and Rithwallon, or Rivallon, his two brothers, princes in his ſtead; they to Harold in behalf of the king ſwore fealty and tribute. § Yet the next year Harold having built a fair houſe at a place called Portaſcith in Monmouthſhire, and ſtored it with proviſion, that the king might lodge there in time of hunting, Caradoc, the ſon of Griffin ſlain the year before ‖, came with a number of men, ſlew all he found there, and took away the proviſion. Soon after which the Northumbrians in a tumult at York beſet the palace of Toſti their earl, ſlew more than two hundred of his ſoldiers and ſervants, pillaged his treaſure, and put him to fly for his life. The cauſe of this inſurrection they alleged to be, for that the queen Edith had commanded, in her brother Toſti's behalf, Goſpatric a nobleman of that country to be treacherouſly ſlain in the king's court; and that Toſti himſelf the year before with like treachery had cauſed to be ſlain in his chamber Gamel and Ulf, two other of their noblemen, beſides his intolerable exactions and oppreſſions. Then in a manner the whole country, coming up to complain

* Poſt Chriſt. 1062. Sim. Dun.
† Poſt Chriſt. 1063. Sim. Dun.
‡ Poſt Chriſt. 1064. Sim. Dun.
§ Poſt Chriſt. 1065. Sim. Dun.
‖ Camden.

of their grievances, met with Harold at Northampton, whom the king at Toſti's requeſt had ſent to pacify the Northumbrians; but they laying open the cruelty of his government, and their own birthright of freedom not to endure the tyranny of any governor whatſoever, with abſolute refuſal to admit him again, and Harold hearing reaſon, all the accomplices of Toſti were expelled the earldom. He himſelf, baniſhed the realm, went into Flanders; Morcar the ſon of Algar made earl in his ſtead. Huntingdon tells another cauſe of Toſti's baniſhment, that one day at Windſor, while Harold reached the cup to king Edward, Toſti, envying to ſee his younger brother in greater favour than himſelf, could not forbear to run furiouſly upon him, catching hold of his hair; the ſcuffle was ſoon parted by other attendants ruſhing between, and Toſti forbidden the court. He with continued fury riding to Hereford, where Harold had many ſervants, preparing an entertainment for the king, came to the houſe and ſet upon them with his followers; then lopping off hands, arms, legs of ſome, heads of others, threw them into buts of wine, meath, or ale, which were laid in for the king's drinking: and at his going away charged them to ſend him this word, that of other freſh meats he might bring with him to his farm what he pleaſed, but of ſouſe he ſhould find plenty provided ready for him: that for this barbarous act the king pronounced him baniſhed; that the Northumbrians, taking advantage at the king's diſpleaſure and ſentence againſt him, roſe alſo to be revenged of his cruelties done to themſelves. But this no way agrees; for why then ſhould Harold or the king ſo much labour with the Northumbrians to readmit him, if he were a baniſhed man for his crimes done before? About this time it happened, that Harold putting to ſea one day for his pleaſure*, in a fiſherboat, from his manor at Boſeham in Suſſex, caught with a tempeſt too far off lands was carried into Normandy; and by the earl of Pontiew, on whoſe coaſt he was driven, at his own requeſt brought to duke William; who, entertaining him

* Malmſ.

wtih

with great courteſey, ſo far won him, as to promiſe the duke by oath of his own accord, not only the caſtle of Dover then in his tenure, but the kingdom alſo after king Edward's death to his utmoſt endeavour, thereupon betrothing the duke's daughter then too young for marriage, and departing richly preſented. Others ſay, that king Edward himſelf, after the death of Edward his nephew, ſent Harold thither on purpoſe to acquaint duke William with his intention to bequeath him his kingdom *: but Malmſbury accounts the former ſtory to be the truer. Ingulf writes, that king Edward now grown old, and perceiving Edgar his nephew both in body and mind unfit to govern, eſpecially againſt the pride and inſolence of Godwin's ſons, who would never obey him; duke William on the other ſide of high merit, and his kinſman by the mother, had ſent Robert archbiſhop of Canterbury, to acquaint the duke with his purpoſe, not long before Harold came thither. The former part may be true, that king Edward upon ſuch conſiderations had ſent one or other; but archbiſhop Robert was fled the land, and dead many years before. Eadmer and Simeon write, that Harold went of his own accord into Normandy, by the king's permiſſion or connivance, to get free his brother Wulnod and nephew Hacun the ſon of Swane, whom the king had taken hoſtages of Godwin, and ſent into Normandy; that king Edward foretold Harold, his journey thither would be to the detriment of all England, and his own reproach; that duke William then acquainted Harold, how Edward ere his coming to the crown had promiſed, if ever he attained it, to leave duke William ſucceſſor after him. Laſt of theſe Matthew Paris writes, that Harold, to get free of duke William, affirmed his coming thither not to have been by accident or force of tempeſt, but on ſet purpoſe, in that private manner to enter with him into ſecret confederacy: ſo variouſly are theſe things reported. After this king Edward grew ſickly †, yet as he was able kept his Chriſtmas at London, and

* Leges Ed. Conf. Tit. Lex Noricor. Sim. Dun.

† Poſt Chriſt. 1066.

was

was at the dedication of St. Peter's church in Weſtminſter, which he had rebuilt; but on the eve of Epiphany, or Twelfthtide, deceaſed much lamented, and in the church was entombed. That he was harmleſs and ſimple, is conjectured by his words in anger to a peaſant, who had croſſed his game (for with hunting and hawking he was much delighted) "by God and God's mother," ſaid he, "I ſhall do you as ſhrewd a turn if I can;" obſerving that law maxim, the beſt of all his ſucceſſors, "That the king of England can do no wrong." The ſoftneſs of his nature gave growth to factions of thoſe about him, Normans eſpecially and Engliſh; theſe complaining, that Robert the archbiſhop was a ſower of diſſenſion between the king and his people, a traducer of the Engliſh; the other ſide, that Godwin and his ſons bore themſelves arrogantly and proudly towards the king, uſurping to themſelves equal ſhare in the government, ofttimes making ſport with his ſimplicity *; that through their power in the land, they made no ſcruple to kill men of whoſe inheritance they took a liking, and ſo to take poſſeſſion. The truth is, that Godwin and his ſons did many things boiſterouſly and violently, much againſt the king's mind; which not able to reſiſt, he had, as ſome ſay, his wife Edith Godwin's daughter in ſuch averſation, as in bed, never to have touched her; whether for this cauſe, or miſtaken chaſtity, not commendable; to inquire further, is not material. His laws held good and juſt, and long after deſired by the Engliſh of their Norman kings, are yet extant. He is ſaid to be at table not exceſſive, at feſtivals nothing puffed up with the coſtly robes he wore, which his queen with curious art had woven for him in gold. He was full of almſdeeds, and exhorted the monks to like charity. He is ſaid to be the firſt Engliſh king, that cured the diſeaſe thence called the king's evil; yet Malmſbury blames them who attribute that cure to his royalty, not to his ſanctity; ſaid alſo to have cured certain blind men with the water wherein he hath waſhed his hands. A little before his death, lying

* Huntingd.

ſpeechleſs

ſpeechleſs two days, the third day, after a deep ſleep, he was heard to pray, that if it were a true viſion, not an illuſion which he had ſeen, God would give him ſtrength to utter it, otherwiſe not. Then he related how he had ſeen two devout monks, whom he knew in Normandy to have lived and died well, who appearing told him they were ſent meſſengers from God to foretel, that becauſe the great ones of England, dukes, lords, biſhops, and abbots, were not miniſters of God, but of the devil, God had delivered the land to their enemies; and when he deſired, that he might reveal this viſion, to the end they might repent, it was anſwered, they neither will repent, neither will God pardon them: at this relation others trembling, Stigand the ſimonious archbiſhop, whom Edward much to blame had ſuffered many years to ſit primate in the church, is ſaid to have laughed, as at the feveriſh dream of a doting old man; but the event proved it true.

HAROLD, ſon of Earl Godwin.

HAROLD, whether by king Edward a little before his death ordained ſucceſſor to the crown, as Simeon of Durham, and * others affirm; or by the prevalence of his faction, excluding Edgar the right heir, grandchild to Edmund Ironſide, as Malmſbury and Huntingdon agree; no ſooner was the funeral of king Edward ended, but on the ſame day was elected and crowned king: and no ſooner placed in the throne, but began to frame himſelf by all manner of compliances to gain affection, endeavoured to make good laws, repealed bad, became a great patron to church and churchmen, courteous and affable to all reputed good, a hater of evildoers, charged all his officers to puniſh thieves, robbers, and all diſturbers of the peace, while he himſelf by ſea and land laboured in the defence of his country: ſo good an actor is ambition. In the mean while a blazing ſtar, ſeven mornings together, about the end of April was ſeen to ſtream terribly, not only over England, but other parts

* Hoved. Florent.

of

of the world; foretelling here, as was thought, the great changes approaching: plainlieſt prognoſticated by Elmer, a monk of Malmſbury, who could not foreſee, when time was, the breaking of his own legs for ſoaring too high. He in his youth ſtrangely aſpiring, had made and fitted wings to his hands and feet; with theſe on the top of a tower, ſpread out to gather air, he flew more than a furlong; but the wind being too high, came fluttering down, to the maiming of all his limbs; yet ſo conceited of his art, that he attributed the cauſe of his fall to the want of a tail, as birds have, which he forgot to make to his hinder parts. This ſtory, though ſeeming otherwiſe too light in the midſt of a ſad narration, yet for the ſtrangeneſs thereof, I thought worthy enough the placing, as I found it placed in my author. But to digreſs no farther: Toſti the king's brother coming from Flanders, full of envy at his younger brother's advancement to the crown, reſolved what he might to trouble his reign; forcing therefore them of Wight Iſle to contribution, he ſailed thence to Sandwich, committing piracies on the coaſt between. Harold, then reſiding at London, with a great number of ſhips drawn together, and of horſe troops by land, prepares in perſon for Sandwich: whereof Toſti having notice directs his courſe with ſixty ſhips towards Lindſey *, taking with him all the ſeamen he found, willing or unwilling: where he burnt many villages, and ſlew many of the inhabitants; but Edwin the Mercian duke, and Morcar his brother, the Northumbrian earl, with their forces on either ſide, ſoon drove him out of the country. Who thence betook him to Malcolm the Scottiſh king, and with him abode the whole ſummer. About the ſame time duke William ſending embaſſadors to admoniſh Harold of his promiſe and oath, to aſſiſt him in his plea to the kingdom, he made anſwer, that by the death of his daughter betrothed to him on that condition, he was abſolved of his oath †; or not dead, he could not take her now an outlandiſh woman, without conſent of the realm; that it was preſumptuouſly done, and not to be perſiſted in, if without

* Malmſ. † Eadmer.

conſent

conſent or knowledge of the ſtates, he had ſworn away the right of the kingdom; that what he ſwore was to gain his liberty, being in a manner then his priſoner; that it was unreaſonable in the duke, to require or expect of him the foregoing of a kingdom, conferred upon him with univerſal favour and acclamation of the people. To this flat denial he added contempt, ſending the meſſengers back, ſaith Matthew Paris, on maimed horſes. The duke, thus contemptuouſly put off, addreſſes himſelf to the pope, ſetting forth the juſtice of his cauſe; which Harold, whether through haughtineſs of mind, or diſtruſt, or that the ways to Rome were ſtopped, ſought not to do. Duke William, beſides the promiſe and oath of Harold, alleged that king Edward, by the advice of Seward, Godwin himſelf, and Stigand the archbiſhop, had given him the right of ſucceſſion, and had ſent him the ſon and nephew of Godwin, pledges of the gift: the pope ſent to duke William, after this demonſtration of his right, a conſecrated banner. Whereupon he having with great care and choice got an army of tall and ſtout ſoldiers, under captains of great ſkill and mature age, came in Auguſt to the port of St. Valerie. Mean-while Harold from London comes to Sandwich, there expecting his navy; which alſo coming, he ſails to the Iſle of Wight; and having heard of duke William's preparations and readineſs to invade him, kept good watch on the coaſt, and foot forces every where in fit places to guard the ſhore. But ere the middle of September, proviſion failing when it was moſt needed, both fleet and army return home. When on a ſudden, Harold Harvager king of Norway, with a navy of more than five hundred great ſhips *, (others leſſen them by two hundred, others augment them to a thouſand) appears at the mouth of Tine; to whom earl Toſti with his ſhips came as was agreed between them; whence both uniting ſet ſail with all ſpeed, and entered the river Humber. Thence turning into Ouſe, as far as Rical, landed, and won York by aſſault. At theſe tidings Harold with all his power haſtes thitherward; but ere his

* Malmſ. Matt. Paris.

coming,

coming, Edwin and Morcar at Fulford by York, on the north ſide of Ouſe, about the feaſt of St. Matthew had given them battle; ſucceſsfully at firſt, but overborn at length with numbers; and forced to turn their backs, more of them periſhed in the river, than in the fight. The Norwegians taking with them five hundred hoſtages out of York, and leaving there one hundred and fifty of their own, retired to their ſhips. But the fifth day after, king Harold with a great and well-appointed army coming to York, and at Stamford bridge, or Battle bridge on Darwent, aſſailing the Norwegians, after much bloodſhed on both ſides, cut off the greateſt part of them with Harvager their king, and Toſti his own brother *. But Olave the king's ſon, and Paul earl of Orkney, left with many ſoldiers to guard the ſhips, ſurrendering themſelves with hoſtages, and oath given never to return as enemies, he ſuffered freely to depart with twenty ſhips, and the ſmall remnant of their army. † One man of the Norwegians is not to be forgotten, who with incredible valour keeping the bridge a long hour againſt the whole Engliſh army, with his ſingle reſiſtance delayed their victory; and ſcorning offered life, till in the end no man daring to grapple with him, either dreaded as too ſtrong, or contemned as one deſperate, he was at length ſhot dead with an arrow; and by his fall opened the paſſage of purſuit to a complete victory. Wherewith Harold lifted up in mind, and forgetting now his former ſhows of popularity, defrauded his ſoldiers their due and well deſerved ſhare of the ſpoils. While theſe things paſſed in Northumberland, duke William lay ſtill at St. Valerie; his ſhips were ready, but the wind ſerved not for many days; which put the ſoldiery into much diſcouragement and murmur, taking this for an unlucky ſign of their ſucceſs; at laſt the wind came favourable, the duke firſt under ſail awaited the reſt at anchor, till all coming forth, the whole fleet of nine hundred ſhips with a proſperous gale arrived at Haſtings. At his going out of the boat by a ſlip falling on his hands, to correct the omen §, a ſoldier ſtanding by ſaid aloud, that their

* Camd. † Malmſ. § Sim. Dun.

duke

duke had taken poſſeſſion of England. Landed, he reſtrained his army from waſte and ſpoil, ſaying that they ought to ſpare what was their own. But theſe things are related of Alexander and Cæſar, and I doubt thence borrowed by the monks to inlay their ſtory. The duke for fifteen days after landing kept his men quiet within the camp, having taken the caſtle of Haſtings, or built a fortreſs there. Harold ſecure the while, and proud of his new victory, thought all his enemies now under foot: but ſitting jollily at dinner, news is brought him that duke William of Normandy with a great multitude of horſe and foot, ſlingers and archers, beſides other choice auxiliaries which he had hired in France, was arrived at Pevenſey. Harold, who had expected him all the ſummer, but not ſo late in the year as now it was, for it was October, with his forces much diminiſhed after two ſore conflicts, and the departing of many others from him diſcontented, in great haſte marches to London. Thence not tarrying for ſupplies, which were on their way towards him, hurries into Suſſex (for he was always in haſte ſince the day of his coronation) and ere the third part of his army could be well put in order, finds the duke about nine miles from Haſtings, and now drawing nigh, ſent ſpies before him to ſurvey the ſtrength and number of his enemies: them diſcovered ſuch the duke cauſing to be led about, and after well filled with meat and drink, ſent back. They not otherwiſe brought word, that the duke's army were moſt of them prieſts; for they ſaw their faces all over ſhaven; the Engliſh then uſing to let grow on their upper lip large muſtachios, as did anciently the Britons. The king laughing anſwered, that they were not prieſts, but valiant and hardy ſoldiers. Therefore ſaid Girtha his brother, a youth of noble courage and underſtanding above his age, "Forbear thou thyſelf to fight, who art obnoxious to duke William by oath, let us unſworn undergo the hazard of battle, who may juſtly fight in the defence of our country; thou, reſerved to fitter time, mayſt either reunite us flying, or revenge us dead." The king not hearkening to this, leſt it might ſeem to argue fear in him or a bad cauſe, with like reſolution rejected the offers of duke William

ſent

ſent to him by a monk before the battle, with this only anſwer haſtily delivered, "Let God judge between us." The offers were theſe, that Harold would either lay down the ſceptre, or hold it of him, or try his title with him by ſingle combat in ſight of both armies, or refer it to the pope. Theſe rejected, both ſides prepared to fight the next morning, the Engliſh from ſinging and drinking all night, the Normans from confeſſion of their ſins, and communion of the hoſt. The Engliſh were in a ſtrait diſadvantageous place, ſo that many, diſcouraged with their ill ordering, ſcarce having room where to ſtand, ſlipped away before the onſet, the reſt in cloſe order, with their battleaxes and ſhields, made an impenetrable ſquadron: the king himſelf with his brothers on foot ſtood by the royal ſtandard, wherein the figure of a man fighting was inwoven with gold and precious ſtones. The Norman foot, moſt bowmen, made the foremoſt front, on either ſide wings of horſe ſomewhat behind. The duke arming, and his corſlet given him on the wrong ſide, ſaid pleaſantly, "The ſtrength of my dukedom will be turned now into a kingdom." Then the whole army ſinging the ſong of Rowland, the remembrance of whoſe exploits might hearten them, imploring laſtly divine help, the battle began; and was fought ſorely on either ſide: but the main body of Engliſh foot by no means would be broken, till the duke, cauſing his men to feign flight, drew them out with deſire of purſuit into open diſorder, then turned ſuddenly upon them ſo routed by themſelves, which wrought their overthrow; yet ſo they died not unmanfully, but turning oft upon their enemies, by the advantage of an upper ground, beat them down by heaps, and filled up a great ditch with their carcaſſes. Thus hung the victory wavering on either ſide from the third hour of day to evening; when Harold having maintained the fight with unſpeakable courage and perſonal valour, ſhot into the head with an arrow, fell at length, and left his ſoldiers without heart longer to withſtand the unwearied enemy. With Harold fell alſo his two brothers, Leofwin and Girtha, with them greateſt part of the Engliſh nobility. His body lying dead a knight or ſoldier wounding

OF

ON, HERESY, SCHISM,

LERATION;

ANS may be uſed againſt the

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before the Normans came, the clergy, though in Edward the confeſſor's days, had loſt all good literature and religion, ſcarce able to read and underſtand their Latin ſervice; he was a miracle to others who knew his grammar. The monks went clad in fine ſtuffs, and made no difference what they eat; which though in itſelf no fault, yet to their conſciences was irreligious. The great men, given to gluttony and diſſolute life, made a prey of the common people, abuſing their daughters whom they had in ſervice, then turning them off to the ſtews; the meaner ſort tippling together night and day, ſpent all they had in drunkenneſs, attended with other vices which effeminate men's minds. Whence it came to paſs, that carried on with fury and raſhneſs more than any true fortitude or ſkill of war, they gave to William their conqueror ſo eaſy a conqueſt. Not but that ſome few of all ſorts were much better among them; but ſuch was the generality. And as the long ſuffering of God permits bad men to enjoy proſperous days with the good, ſo his ſeverity ofttimes exempts not good men from their ſhare in evil times with the bad.

If theſe were the cauſes of ſuch miſery and thraldom to thoſe our anceſtors, with what better cloſe can be concluded, than here in fit ſeaſon to remember this age in the midſt of her ſecurity, to fear from like vices, without amendment, the revolution of like calamities?

THE END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

OF

TRUE RELIGION, HERESY, SCHISM, TOLERATION;

And what beſt MEANS may be uſed againſt the

GROWTH OF POPERY*.

IT is unknown to no man, who knows aught of concernment among us, that the increaſe of popery is at this day no ſmall trouble and offence to greateſt part of the nation; and the rejoicing of all good men that it is ſo: the more their rejoicing, that God hath given a heart to the people, to remember ſtill their great and happy deliverance from popiſh thraldom, and to eſteem ſo highly the precious benefit of his goſpel, ſo freely and ſo peaceably enjoyed among them. Since therefore ſome have already in public with many conſiderable arguments exhorted the people, to beware the growth of this Romiſh weed; I thought it no leſs than a common duty, to lend my hand, how unable ſoever, to ſo good a purpoſe. I will not now enter into the labyrinth of councils and fathers, an entangled wood, which the papiſts love to fight in, not with hope of victory, but to obſcure the ſhame of an open overthrow: which yet in that kind of combat, many heretofore, and one of late, hath eminently given them. And ſuch manner of diſpute with them to learned men is uſeful and very commendable. But I ſhall inſiſt now on what is plainer to common apprehenſion, and what I have to ſay, without longer introduction.

True religion is the true worſhip and ſervice of God, learnt and believed from the word of God only. No man or angel can know how God would be worſhipped and ſerved, unleſs God reveal it: he hath revealed and taught it us in the holy ſcriptures by inſpired miniſters, and in the goſpel by his own ſon and his apoſtles, with ſtricteſt command, to reject all other traditions or additions

* Printed in the year 1673.

ditions whatſoever. According to that of St. Paul, "Though we or an angel from Heaven preach any other goſpel unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be anathema, or accurſed." And Deut. iv, 2: "Ye ſhall not add to the word which I command you, neither ſhall you diminiſh aught from it." Rev. xxii, 18, 19: "If any man ſhall add, &c. If any man ſhall take away from the words," &c. With good and religious reaſon therefore all proteſtant churches with one conſent, and particularly the church of England in her thirty-nine articles, artic. 6th, 19th, 20th, 21ſt, and elſewhere, maintain theſe two points, as the main principles of true religion; that the rule of true religion is the word of God only: and that their faith ought not to be an implicit faith, that is to believe, though as the church believes, againſt or without expreſs authority of ſcripture. And if all proteſtants, as univerſally as they hold theſe two principles, ſo attentively and religiouſly would obſerve them, they would avoid and cut off many debates and contentions, ſchiſms and perſecutions, which too oft have been among them, and more firmly unite againſt the common adverſary. For hence it directly follows, that no true proteſtant can perſecute, or not tolerate his fellow-proteſtant, though diſſenting from him in ſome opinions, but he muſt flatly deny and renounce theſe two his own main principles, whereon true religion is founded; while he compels his brother from that which he believes as the manifeſt word of God, to an implicit faith (which he himſelf condemns) to the endangering of his brother's ſoul, whether by raſh belief, or outward conformity: for "whatſoever is not of faith, is ſin."

I will now as briefly ſhow what is falſe religion or hereſy, which will be done as eaſily: for of contraries the definitions muſt needs be contrary. Hereſy therefore is a religion taken up and believed from the traditions of men, and additions to the word of God. Whence alſo it follows clearly, that of all known ſects, or pretended religions, at this day in Chriſtendom, popery is the only or the greateſt hereſy: and he who is ſo forward to brand all others for heretics, the obſtinate papiſt, the only

only heretic. Hence one of their own famous writers found juſt cauſe to ſtyle the Romiſh church "Mother of errour, ſchool of hereſy." And whereas the papiſt boaſts himſelf to be a Roman Catholic, it is a mere contradiction, one of the pope's bulls, as if he ſhould ſay, univerſal particular, a catholic ſchiſmatic. For catholic in Greek ſignifies univerſal: and the chriſtian church was ſo called, as conſiſting of all nations to whom the goſpel was to be preached, in contradiſtinction to the jewiſh church, which conſiſted for the moſt part of Jews only.

Sects may be in a true church as well as in a falſe, when men follow the doctrine too much for the teacher's ſake, whom they think almoſt infallible; and this becomes, through infirmity, implicit faith; and the name ſectary pertains to ſuch a diſciple.

Schiſm is a rent or diviſion in the church, when it comes to the ſeparating of congregations; and may alſo happen to a true church, as well as to a falſe; yet in the true needs not tend to the breaking of communion, if they can agree in the right adminiſtration of that wherein they communicate, keeping their other opinions to themſelves, not being deſtructive to faith. The phariſees and ſaducees were two ſects, yet both met together in their common worſhip of God at Jeruſalem. But here the papiſt will angrily demand, what! are lutherans, calviniſts, anabaptiſts, ſocinians, arminians, no heretics? I anſwer, all theſe may have ſome errours, but are no heretics. Hereſy is in the will and choice profeſſedly againſt ſcripture; errour is againſt the will, in miſunderſtanding the ſcripture after all ſincere endeavours to underſtand it rightly: hence it was ſaid well by one of the ancients, "Err I may, but a heretic I will not be." It is a human frailty to err, and no man is infallible here on earth. But ſo long as all theſe profeſs to ſet the word of God only before them as the rule of faith and obedience; and uſe all diligence and ſincerity of heart, by reading, by learning, by ſtudy, by prayer for illumination of the holy ſpirit, to underſtand the rule and obey it, they have done what man can do: God will aſſuredly pardon them, as he did the friends of Job: good and pious men, though much miſtaken, as there it

appears, in ſome points of doctrine. But ſome will ſay, with chriſtians it is otherwiſe, whom God hath promiſed by his ſpirit to teach all things. True, all things abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation: but the hotteſt diſputes among proteſtants, calmly and charitably inquired into, will be found leſs than ſuch. The lutheran holds conſubſtantiation; an errour indeed, but not mortal. The calviniſt is taxed with predeſtination, and to make God the author of ſin; not with any diſhonourable thought of God, but it may be overzealouſly aſſerting his abſolute power, not without plea of ſcripture. The anabaptiſt is accuſed of denying infants their right to baptiſm; again they ſay, they deny nothing but what the ſcripture denies them. The arian and ſocinian are charged to diſpute againſt the trinity: they affirm to believe the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, according to ſcripture and the apoſtolic creed; as for terms of trinity, triniunity, coeſſentiality, triperſonality, and the like, they reject them as ſcholaſtic notions, not to be found in ſcripture, which by a general proteſtant maxim is plain and perſpicuous abundantly to explain its own meaning in the propereſt words, belonging to ſo high a matter, and ſo neceſſary to be known; a myſtery indeed in their ſophiſtic ſubtilties, but in ſcripture a plain doctrine. Their other opinions are of leſs moment. They diſpute the ſatisfaction of Chriſt, or rather the word "Satis-" faction," as not ſcriptural: but they acknowledge him both God and their ſaviour. The arminian laſtly is condemned for ſetting up free will againſt free grace; but that imputation he diſclaims in all his writings, and grounds himſelf largely upon ſcripture only. It cannot be denied, that the authors or late revivers of all theſe ſects or opinions were learned, worthy, zealous, and religious men, as appears by their lives written, and the fame of their many eminent and learned followers, perfect and powerful in the ſcriptures, holy and unblamable in their lives: and it cannot be imagined, that God would deſert ſuch painful and zealous labourers in his church, and ofttimes great ſufferers for their conſcience, to damnable errours and a reprobate ſenſe, who had ſo often implored the aſſiſtance of his ſpirit; but rather, having

having made no man infallible, that he hath pardoned their errours, and accepts their pious endeavours, ſincerely ſearching all things according to the rule of ſcripture, with ſuch guidance and direction as they can obtain of God by prayer. What proteſtant then, who himſelf maintains the ſame principles, and diſavows all implicit faith, would perſecute, and not rather charitably tolerate ſuch men as theſe, unleſs he mean to abjure the principles of his own religion? If it be aſked, how far they ſhould be tolerated: I anſwer, doubtleſs equally, as being all proteſtants; that is, on all occaſions to give account of their faith, either by arguing, preaching in their ſeveral aſſemblies, public writing, and the freedom of printing. For if the French and Polonian proteſtants enjoy all this liberty among papiſts, much more may a proteſtant juſtly expect it among proteſtants; and yet ſometimes here among us, the one perſecutes the other upon every ſlight pretence.

But he is wont to ſay, he enjoins only things indifferent. Let them be ſo ſtill; who gave him authority to change their nature by enjoining them? if by his own principles, as is proved, he ought to tolerate controverted points of doctrine not ſlightly grounded on ſcripture, much more ought he not impoſe things indifferent without ſcripture. In religion nothing is indifferent, but, if it come once to be impoſed, is either a command or a prohibition, and ſo conſequently an addition to the word of God, which he profeſſes to diſallow. Beſides, how unequal, how uncharitable muſt it needs be, to impoſe that which his conſcience cannot urge him to impoſe, upon him whoſe conſcience forbids him to obey? What can it be but love of contention for things not neceſſary to be done, to moleſt the conſcience of his brother, who holds them neceſſary to be not done? To conclude, let ſuch a one but call to mind his own principles abovementioned, and he muſt neceſſarily grant, that neither he can impoſe, nor the other believe or obey, aught in religion, but from the word of God only. More amply to underſtand this, may be read the 14th and 15th chapters to the Romans, and the contents of the 14th, ſet forth no doubt but with full authority of the church of

England; the gloſs is this: "Men may not contemn or condemn one the other for things indifferent." And in the 6th article above-mentioned, "whatſoever is not read in holy ſcripture, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man as an article of faith, or neceſſary to ſalvation." And certainly what is not ſo, is not to be required at all; as being an addition to the word of God expreſsly forbidden.

Thus this long and hot conteſt, whether proteſtants ought to tolerate one another, if men will be but rational and not partial, may be ended without need of more words to compoſe it.

Let us now inquire, whether popery be tolerable or no. Popery is a double thing to deal with, and claims a twofold power, eccleſiaſtical and political, both uſurped, and the one ſupporting the other.

But eccleſiaſtical is ever pretended to political. The pope by this mixed faculty pretends right to kingdoms and ſtates, and eſpecially to this of England, thrones and unthrones kings, and abſolves the people from their obedience to them; ſometimes interdicts to whole nations the public worſhip of God, ſhutting up their churches: and was wont to drain away greateſt part of the wealth of this then miſerable land, as part of his patrimony, to maintain the pride and luxury of his court and prelates: and now, ſince, through the infinite mercy and favour of God, we have ſhaken off his Babyloniſh yoke, hath not ceaſed by his ſpies and agents, bulls and emiſſaries, once to deſtroy both king and parliament; perpetually to ſeduce, corrupt, and pervert as many as they can of the people. Whether therefore it be fit or reaſonable, to tolerate men thus principled in religion towards the ſtate, I ſubmit it to the conſideration of all magiſtrates, who are beſt able to provide for their own and the public ſafety. As for tolerating the exerciſe of their religion, ſuppoſing their ſtate-activities not to be dangerous, I anſwer, that toleration is either public or private; and the exerciſe of their religion, as far as it is idolatrous, can be tolerated neither way: not publicly without grievous and unſufferable ſcandal given to all conſcientious beholders; not privately, without great offence

offence to God, declared againſt all kind of idolatry, though ſecret. Ezek. viii, 7, 8: "And he brought me to the door of the court, and when I looked, behold a hole in the wall. Then ſaid he unto me, ſon of man, dig now in the wall: and when I had digged, behold a door; and he ſaid unto me, go in, and behold the wicked abominations that they do here." And ver. 12; "Then ſaid he unto me, ſon of man, haſt thou ſeen what the ancients of the houſe of Iſrael do in the dark?" &c. And it appears by the whole chapter, that God was no leſs offended with theſe ſecret idolatries, than with thoſe in public; and no leſs provoked, than to bring on and haſten his judgments on the whole land for theſe alſo.

Having ſhown thus, that popery, as being idolatrous, is not to be tolerated either in public or in private; it muſt be now thought how to remove it, and hinder the growth thereof, I mean in our natives, and not foreigners, privileged by the law of nations. Are we to puniſh them by corporal puniſhment, or fines in their eſtates, upon account of their religion? I ſuppoſe it ſtands not with the clemency of the goſpel, more than what appertains to the ſecurity of the ſtate: but firſt we muſt remove their idolatry, and all the furniture thereof, whether idols, or the maſs wherein they adore their God under bread and wine: for the commandment forbids to adore, not only "any graven image, but the likeneſs of any thing in heaven above or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth; thou ſhalt not bow down to them, nor worſhip them, for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God." If they ſay, that by removing their idols we violate their conſciences, we have no warrant to regard conſcience which is not grounded on ſcripture: and they themſelves confeſs in their late defences, that they hold not their images neceſſary to ſalvation, but only as they are enjoined them by tradition.

Shall we condeſcend to diſpute with them? The ſcripture is our only principle in religion; and by that only they will not be judged, but will add other principles of their own, which, forbidden by the word of God, we cannot

cannot aſſent to. And [in ſeveral places of the goſpel] the common maxim alſo in logic is, "againſt them who deny principles, we are not to diſpute." Let them bound their diſputations on the ſcripture only, and an ordinary proteſtant, well read in the Bible, may turn and wind their doctors. They will not go about to prove their idolatries by the word of God, but turn to ſhifts and evaſions, and frivolous diſtinctions: idols they ſay are laymen's books, and a great means to ſtir up pious thoughts and devotion in the learnedeſt. I ſay, they are no means of God's appointing, but plainly the contrary: let them hear the prophets; Jer. x, 8; "The ſtock is a doctrine of vanities." Hab. ii, 18: "What profiteth the graven image, that the maker thereof hath graven it: the molten image and a teacher of lies?" But they allege in their late anſwers, that the laws of Moſes, given only to the Jews, concern not us under the goſpel; and remember not that idolatry is forbidden as expreſsly: but with theſe wiles and fallacies "compaſſing ſea and land, like the Phariſees of old, to make one proſelyte," they lead away privily many ſimple and ignorant ſouls, men and women, "and make them twofold more the children of Hell than themſelves," Mat. xxiii, 15. But the apoſtle hath well warned us, I may ſay, from ſuch deceivers as theſe, for their myſtery was then working. "I beſeech you, brethren," ſaith he, "mark them which cauſe diviſions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them; for they that are ſuch, ſerve not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but their own belly, and by good words and fair ſpeeches deceive the heart of the ſimple," Rom. xvi, 17, 18.

The next means to hinder the growth of popery will be, to read duly and diligently the holy ſcriptures, which, as St. Paul ſaith to Timothy, who had known them from a child, "are able to make wiſe unto ſalvation." And to the whole church of Coloſſi; "Let the word of Chriſt dwell in you plentifully, with all wiſdom," Col. iii, 16. The papal antichriſtian church permits not her laity to read the Bible in their own tongue: our church on the contrary hath propoſed it to all men, and to this end tranſlated it into Engliſh, with profitable notes on

what is met with obſcure, though what is moſt neceſſary to be known be ſtill plaineſt: that all ſorts and degrees of men, not underſtanding the original, may read it in their mother tongue. Neither let the countryman, the tradeſman, the lawyer, the phyſician, the ſtateſman, excuſe himſelf by his much buſineſs from the ſtudious reading thereof. Our Saviour ſaith, Luke x, 41, 42: "Thou art careful and troubled about many things, but one thing is needful." If they were aſked, they would be loth to ſet earthly things, wealth, or honour before the wiſdom of ſalvation. Yet moſt men in the courſe and practice of their lives are found to do ſo; and through unwillingneſs to take the pains of underſtanding their religion by their own diligent ſtudy, would fain be ſaved by a deputy. Hence comes implicit faith, ever learning and never taught, much hearing and ſmall proficience, till want of fundamental knowledge eaſily turns to ſuperſtition or popery: therefore the apoſtle admoniſhes, Epheſ. iv, 14: "That we henceforth be no more children, toſſed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the ſleight of men, and cunning craftineſs whereby they lie in wait to deceive." Every member of the church, at leaſt of any breeding or capacity, ſo well ought to be grounded in ſpiritual knowledge, as, if need be, to examine their teachers themſelves, Acts xvii, 11: "They ſearched the ſcriptures daily, whether thoſe things were ſo." Rev. ii, 2: "Thou haſt tried them which ſay they are apoſtles, and are not." How ſhould any private chriſtian try his teachers, unleſs he be well grounded himſelf in the rule of ſcripture, by which he is taught. As therefore among papiſts, their ignorance in ſcripture chiefly upholds popery; ſo among proteſtant people, the frequent and ſerious reading thereof will ſooneſt pull popery down.

Another means to abate popery, ariſes from the conſtant reading of ſcripture, wherein believers, who agree in the main, are every where exhorted to mutual forbearance and charity one towards the other, though diſſenting in ſome opinions. It is written, that the coat of our Saviour was without ſeam; whence ſome would infer, that there ſhould be no diviſion in the church of Chriſt.

Chriſt. It ſhould be ſo indeed; yet ſeams in the ſame cloth neither hurt the garment, nor miſbecome it; and not only ſeams, but ſchiſms will be while men are fallible: but if they who diſſent in matters not eſſential to belief, while the common adverſary is in the field, ſhall ſtand jarring and pelting at one another, they will be ſoon routed and ſubdued. The papiſt with open mouth makes much advantage of our ſeveral opinions; not that he is able to confute the worſt of them, but that we by our continual jangle among ourſelves make them worſe than they are indeed. To ſave ourſelves therefore, and reſiſt the common enemy, it concerns us mainly to agree within ourſelves, that with joint forces we may not only hold our own, but get ground; and why ſhould we not? The goſpel commands us to tolerate one another, though of various opinions, and hath promiſed a good and happy event thereof; Phil. iii, 15: "Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded; and if in any thing ye be otherwiſe minded, God ſhall reveal even this unto you." And we are bid, 1 Theſſ. v, 21: "Prove all things, hold faſt that which is good." St. Paul judged, that not only to tolerate, but to examine and prove all things, was no danger to our holding faſt that which is good. How ſhall we prove all things, which includes all opinions at leaſt founded on ſcripture, unleſs we not only tolerate them, but patiently hear them, and ſeriouſly read them? If he who thinks himſelf in the truth profeſſes to have learnt it, not by implicit faith, but by attentive ſtudy of the ſcriptures, and full perſuaſion of heart; with what equity can he refuſe to hear or read him, who demonſtrates to have gained his knowledge by the ſame way? Is it a fair courſe to aſſert truth, by arrogating to himſelf the only freedom of ſpeech, and ſtopping the mouths of others equally gifted? This is the direct way to bring in that papiſtical implicit faith, which we all diſclaim. They pretend it would unſettle the weaker ſort; the ſame groundleſs fear is pretended by the Romiſh clergy. At leaſt then let them have leave to write in Latin, which the common people underſtand not; that what they hold may be diſcuſſed among the learned only. We

ſuffer

ſuffer the idolatrous books of papiſts, without this fear, to be ſold and read as common as our own: why not much rather of anabaptiſts, arians, arminians, and ſocinians? There is no learned man but will confeſs he hath much profited by reading controverſies, his ſenſes awakened, his judgment ſharpened, and the truth which he holds more firmly eſtabliſhed. If then it be profitable for him to read, why ſhould it not at leaſt be tolerable and free for his adverſary to write? In logic they teach, that contraries laid together more evidently appear: it follows then, that all controverſy being permitted, falſehood will appear more falſe, and truth the more true; which muſt needs conduce much, not only to the confounding of popery, but to the general confirmation of unimplicit truth.

The laſt means to avoid popery is, to amend our lives: it is a general complaint, that this nation of late years is grown more numerouſly and exceſſively vicious than heretofore: pride, luxury, drunkenneſs, whoredom, curſing, ſwearing, bold and open atheiſm every where abounding: where theſe grow, no wonder if popery alſo grow apace. There is no man ſo wicked, but at ſome times his conſcience will wring him with thoughts of another world, and the peril of his ſoul; the trouble and melancholy, which he conceives of true repentance and amendment, he endures not, but inclines rather to ſome carnal ſuperſtition, which may pacify and lull his conſcience with ſome more pleaſing doctrine. None more ready and officious to offer herſelf than the Romiſh, and opens wide her office, with all her faculties, to receive him; eaſy confeſſion, eaſy abſolution, pardons, indulgences, maſſes for him both quick and dead, Agnus Dei's, relics, and the like: and he, inſtead of "working out his ſalvation with fear and trembling," ſtraight thinks in his heart (like another kind of fool than he in the pſalms) to bribe God as a corrupt judge; and by his proctor, ſome prieſt, or friar, to buy out his peace with money, which he cannot with his repentance. For God, when men ſin outrageouſly, and will not be admoniſhed, gives over chaſtizing them, perhaps by peſtilence, fire, ſword, or famine, which may all turn to their good, and takes

takes up his ſevereſt puniſhments, hardneſs, beſottedneſs of heart, and idolatry, to their final perdition. Idolatry brought the Heathen to heinous tranſgreſſions, Rom. ii. And heinous tranſgreſſions ofttimes bring the ſlight profeſſors of true religion to groſs idolatry: 1 Theſſ. ii, 11, 12: "For this cauſe God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſion, that they ſhould believe a lie, that they all might be damned who believe not the truth, but had pleaſure in unrighteouſneſs." And Iſaiah xliv, 18, ſpeaking of Idolaters, "They have not known nor underſtood, for he hath ſhut their eyes that they cannot ſee, and their hearts that they cannot underſtand." Let us therefore, uſing this laſt means, laſt here ſpoken of, but firſt to be done, amend our lives with all ſpeed; leſt through impenitency we run into that ſtupidity which we now ſeek all means ſo warily to avoid, the worſt of ſuperſtitions, and the heavieſt of all God's judgments, popery.

A BRIEF

HISTORY

OF

MOSCOVIA,

AND

Of other leſs known Countries lying Eaſtward of RUSSIA as far as CATHAY.

Gathered from the Writings of ſeveral Eyewitneſſes.

THE PREFACE.

THE ſtudy of geography is both profitable and delightful; but the writers thereof, though ſome of them exact enough in ſetting down longitudes and latitudes, yet in thoſe other relations of manners, religion, government, and ſuch like, accounted geographical, have for the moſt part miſſed their proportions. Some too brief and deficient ſatisfy not; others too voluminous and impertinent cloy and weary out the reader, while they tell long ſtories of abſurd ſuperſtitions, ceremonies, quaint habits, and other petty circumſtances little to the purpoſe. Whereby that which is uſeful, and only worth obſervation, in ſuch a wood of words, is either overſlipped, or ſoon forgotten; which perhaps brought into the mind of ſome men more learned and judicious, who had not the leiſure or purpoſe to write an entire geography, yet at leaſt to aſſay ſomething in the deſcription of one or two countries, which might be as a pattern or example to render others more cautious hereafter, who intended the whole work. And this perhaps induced Paulus Jovius to deſcribe only Moſcovy and Britain. Some ſuch thoughts, many years ſince, led me at a vacant time to attempt the like argument, and I began with Moſcovy, as being the moſt northern region of Europe reputed civil; and the more northern

northern parts thereof firſt diſcovered by Engliſh voyages. Wherein I ſaw I had by much the advantage of Jovius. What was ſcattered in many volumes, and obſerved at ſeveral times by eyewitneſſes, with no curſory pains I laid together, to ſave the reader a far longer travail of wandering through ſo many deſert authors; who yet with ſome delight drew me after them, from the eaſtern bounds of Ruſſia, to the walls of Cathay, in ſeveral late journies made thither over land by Ruſſians, who deſcribe the countries in their way far otherwiſe than our common geographers. From proceeding further other occaſions diverted me. This Eſſay, ſuch as it is, was thought by ſome, who knew of it, not amiſs to be publiſhed; that ſo many things remarkable, diſperſed before, now brought under one view, might not hazard to be otherwiſe loſt, nor the labour loſt of collecting them.

MOSCOVIA:

OR,

RELATIONS OF MOSCOVIA,

As far as hath been diſcovered by Engliſh Voyages;

Gathered from the Writings of ſeveral Eyewitneſſes: and the other leſs known Countries lying Eaſtward of RUSSIA *as far as* CATHAY, *lately diſcovered at ſeveral times by the Ruſſians.*

CHAP. I.

A brief Deſcription.

THE empire of Moſcovia, or as others call it Ruſſia, is bounded on the north with Lapland and the ocean; ſouthward by the Crim Tartar; on the weſt by Lithuania, Livonia, and Poland; on the eaſt by the river Ob, or Oby, and the Nagayan Tartars on the Volga as far as Aſtracan.

The north parts of this country are ſo barren, that the inhabitants fetch their corn a thouſand miles *; and ſo cold in winter, that the very ſap of their woodfuel burning on the fire freezes at the brand's end, where it drops. The mariners, which were left on ſhipboard in the firſt Engliſh voyage thither, in going up only from the cabins to the hatches †, had their breath ſo congealed by the cold, that they fell down as it were ſtifled. The bay of St. Nicholas, where they firſt put in ‡, lieth in ſixty four degrees; called ſo from the abbey there built of wood, wherein are twenty monks, unlearned, as then they found them, and great drunkards: their church is fair, full of images and tapers. There are beſides but ſix houſes, whereof one built by the Engliſh. In the bay over againſt the abbey is Roſe Iſland §, full of

* Hack. 251. † Ibid. vol. 1. 248. ‡ Ibid. 376. § Ibid. 365.

damaſk and red roſes, violets, and wild roſemary; the iſle is in circuit ſeven or eight miles; about the midſt of May, the ſnow there is cleared, having two months been melting; then the ground in fourteen days is dry, and graſs kneedeep within a month; after September froſt returns, and ſnow a yard high: it hath a houſe built by the Engliſh near to a freſh fair ſpring. North-eaſt of the abbey, on the other ſide of Duina, is the caſtle of Archangel, where the Engliſh have another houſe. The river Duina, beginning about ſeven hundred miles within the country, having firſt received Pinega, falls here into the ſea, very large and ſwift, but ſhallow. It runneth pleaſantly between hills on either ſide; beſet like a wilderneſs with high fir and other trees. Their boats of timber, without any iron in them, are either to ſail, or to be drawn up with ropes againſt the ſtream.

North-eaſt beyond Archangel ſtandeth Lampas*, where twice a year is kept a great fair of Ruſſes, Tartars, and Samoeds; and to the landward Mezen, and Slobotca, two towns of traffic between the river Pechora, or Petzora, and Duina: to ſeaward lies the cape of Candinos, and the iſland of Colgoieve, about thirty leagues from the bar of Pechory in ſixty nine degrees †.

The river Pechora or Petzora, holding his courſe through Siberia, how far the Ruſſians thereabouts know not, runneth into the ſea at ſeventy two mouths, full of ice; abounding with ſwans, ducks, geeſe, and partridge, which they take in July, ſell the feathers, and ſalt the bodies for winter proviſion. On this river ſpreading to a lake ſtands the town of Puſtozera in ſixty eight degrees ‡, having ſome eighty or a hundred houſes, where certain merchants of Hull wintered in the year ſixteen hundred and eleven. The town Pechora, ſmall and poor, hath three churches. They traded there up the river four days journey to Ouſtzilma a ſmall town of ſixty houſes. The Ruſſians that have travelled ſay, that this river ſprings out of the mountains of Jougoria, and runs through Permia. Not far from the mouth thereof are the ſtraits of Vaigats, of which hereafter: more

* Hack. 284. † Purc. par. 3. 533. ‡ Ibid. Purc.

eaſtward

eaſtward is the point of Naramzy, the next to that the river Ob*; beyond which the Moſcovites have extended lately their dominion. Touching the Riphæan mountains, whence Tanais was anciently thought to ſpring, our men could hear nothing; but rather that the whole country is champaign, and in the northermoſt part huge and deſert woods of fir, abounding with black wolves, bears, buffs, and another beaſt called roſſomakka, whoſe female bringeth forth by paſſing through ſome narrow place, as between two ſtakes, and ſo preſſeth her womb to a diſburdening. Travelling ſouthward they found the country more pleaſant, fair, and better inhabited, corn, paſture, meadows, and huge woods. Arkania (if it be not the ſame with Archangel) is a place of Engliſh trade, from whence a day's journey diſtant, but from St. Nicholas a hundred verſts †, Colmogro ſtands on the Duina; a great town not walled, but ſcattered. The Engliſh have here lands of their own, given them by the emperor, and fair houſes: not far beyond, Pinega, running between rocks of alabaſter and great woods, meets with Duina. From Colmogro to Uſtiug are five hundred verſts or little miles, an ancient city upon the confluence of Juga and Sucana into Duina ‡, which there firſt receives his name. Thence continuing by water to Wologda, a great city ſo named of the river which paſſes through the midſt; it hath a caſtle walled about with brick and ſtone, and many wooden churches, two for every pariſh, the one in winter to be heated, the other uſed in ſummer; this is a town of much traffic, a thouſand miles from St. Nicholas. All this way by water no lodging is to be had but under open ſky by the river ſide, and other proviſion only what they bring with them. From Wologda by ſled they go to Yeraſlave on the Volga, whoſe breadth is there at leaſt a mile over, and thence runs two thouſand ſeven hundred verſts to the Caſpian ſea §, having his head ſpring out of Bealozera, which is a lake, amidſt whereof is built a ſtrong tower, wherein the kings of Moſcovy reſerve

* Purc. 549, 445, 551. † Hack. 376. ‡ Ibid. 312. § Ibid. 177, 248.

their treaſure in time of war. From this town to Roſtove, then to Pereſlave, a great town ſituate on a fair lake; thence to Moſco.

Between Yeraſlave and Moſco, which is two hundred miles, the country is ſo fertile, ſo populous and full of villages, that in a forenoon ſeven or eight hundred ſleds are uſually ſeen coming with ſalt fiſh, or laden back with corn *.

Moſco the chief city, lying in fifty five degrees, diſtant from St. Nicholas fifteen hundred miles, is reputed to be greater than London with the ſuburbs, but rudely built; † their houſes and churches moſt of timber, few of ſtone, their ſtreets unpaved; it hath a fair caſtle four-ſquare, upon a hill, two miles about, with brick walls very high, and ſome ſay eighteen foot thick, ſixteen gates, and as many bulwarks; in the caſtle are kept the chief markets, and in winter on the river, being then firm ice. This river Moſcua on the ſouth-weſt ſide encloſes the caſtle, wherein are nine fair churches with round gilded towers, and the emperor's palace; which neither within nor without is equal for ſtate to the king's houſes in England, but rather like our buildings of old faſhion, with ſmall windows, ſome of glaſs, ſome with lattices, or iron bars.

They who travel from Moſco to the Caſpian, go by water down the Moſcua to the river Occa ‡; then by certain caſtles to Rezan, a famous city now ruinate; the tenth day to Nyſnovogrod, where Occa falls into Volga, which the Tartars call Edel. From thence the eleventh day to Cazan a Tartan city of great wealth heretofore, now under the Ruſſian; walled at firſt with timber and earth, but ſince by the emperor Vaſiliwich with freeſtone. From Cazan, to the river Cama, falling into Volga from the province of Permia, the people dwelling on the left ſide are Gentiles, and live in woods without houſes §: beyond them to Aſtracan, Tartars of Mangat, and Nagay: on the right ſide thoſe of Crimme. From Moſco to Aſtracan is about ſix hundred leagues. The town is ſituate in an iſland on a hill-ſide walled with earth, but

* Hack. 251, 335. † Ibid. 313. ‡ Ibid. 325. § Ibid. 334.

the

the caſtle with earth and timber; the houſes, except that of the governor, and ſome few others, poor and ſimple; the ground utterly barren, and without wood: they live there on fiſh, and ſturgeon eſpecially; which hanging up to dry in the ſtreets and houſes brings whole ſwarms of flies, and infection to the air, and oft great peſtilence. This iſland in length twelve leagues, three in breadth, is the Ruſſian limit toward the Caſpian, which he keeps with a ſtrong garriſon, being twenty leagues from that ſea, into which Volga falls at ſeventy mouths. From St. Nicholas, or from Moſco to the Caſpian, they paſs in forty ſix days and nights, moſt part by water.

Weſtward from St. Nicholas twelve hundred miles is the city* Novogrod fifty eight degrees, the greateſt mart town of all this dominion, and in bigneſs not inferior to Moſco. The way thither is through the weſtern bottom of St. Nicholas bay, and ſo along the ſhore full of dangerous rocks to the monaſtery Soloſky, wherein are at leaſt two hundred monks; the people thereabout in a manner ſavages, yet tenants to thoſe monks. Thence to the dangerous river Owiga, wherein are waterfalls as ſteep as from a mountain, and by the violence of their deſcent kept from freezing: ſo that the boats are to be carried there a mile over land; which the tenants of that abbey did by command, and were guides to the merchants without taking any reward. Thence to the town Povenſa, ſtanding within a mile of the famous lake Onega three hundred and twenty miles long, and in ſome places ſeventy, at narroweſt twenty five broad, and of great depth. Thence by ſome monaſteries to the river Swire; then into the lake Ladiſcay much longer than Onega; after which into the river Volhuſky, which through the midſt of Novogrod runs into this lake, and this lake into the Baltic ſound by Narva and Revel. Their other cities toward the weſtern bound are Pleſco, Smolenſko, or Vobſco.

The emperor exerciſeth abſolute power: if any man die without male iſſue, his land returns to the emperor†.

* Hack. 365. † Ibid. 240.

Any rich man, who through age or other impotency is unable to ſerve the public, being informed of, is turned out of his eſtate, and forced with his family to live on a ſmall penſion, while ſome other more deſerving is by the duke's authority put into poſſeſſion. The manner of informing the duke is thus: Your grace, ſaith one, hath ſuch a ſubject, abounding with riches, but for the ſervice of the ſtate unmeet; and you have others poor and in want, but well able to do their country good ſervice. Immediately the duke ſends forth to inquire, and calling the rich man before him, Friend, ſaith he, you have too much living, and are unſerviceable to your prince; leſs will ſerve you, and the reſt maintain others who deſerve more. The man thus called to impart his wealth repines not, but humbly anſwers, that all he hath is God's and the duke's, as if he made reſtitution of what more juſtly was another's, than parted with his own. Every gentleman hath rule and juſtice over his own tenants: if the tenants of two gentlemen agree not, they ſeek to compoſe it; if they cannot, each brings his tenant before the high judge of that country. They have no lawyers, but every man pleads his own cauſe, or elſe by bill or anſwer in writing delivers it with his own hands to the duke: yet juſtice, by corruption of inferior officers, is much perverted. Where other proof is wanting, they may try the matter by perſonal combat, or by champion. If a debtor be poor, he becomes bondman to the duke, who lets out his labour till it pay the debt; till then he remains in bondage. Another trial they have by lots*.

The revenues of the emperor are what he liſt, and what his ſubjects are able; and he omits not the coarſeſt means to raiſe them: for in every good town there is a drunken tavern, called a Curſemay, which the emperor either lets out to farm, or beſtows on ſome duke, or gentleman †, in reward of his ſervice, who for that time is lord of the whole town, robbing and ſpoiling at his pleaſure, till being well enriched, he is ſent at his own charge to the wars, and there ſqueezed of his ill-got

* Hac. 309. † Ibid. 314.

wealth;

wealth; by which means the waging of war is to the emperor little or nothing chargeable.

The Ruſſian armeth not leſs in time of war than three hundred thouſand men *, half of whom he takes with him into the field, the reſt beſtows in garriſons on the borders. He preſſeth no huſbandman or merchant, but the youth of the realm. He uſeth no foot, but ſuch as are pioneers, or gunners, of both which ſort thirty thouſand. The reſt being horſemen, are all archers, and ride with a ſhort ſtirrup, after the Turkiſh. Their armour is a coat of plate, and a ſkull on their heads. Some of their coats are covered with velvet, or cloth of gold; for they deſire to be gorgeous in arms, but the duke himſelf above meaſure; his pavilion covered with cloth of gold or ſilver, ſet with precious ſtones. They uſe little drums at the ſaddle-bow, inſtead of ſpurs, for at the ſound thereof the horſes run more ſwiftly.

They fight without order †; nor willingly give battle, but by ſtealth or ambuſh. Of cold and hard diet marvelouſly patient; for when the ground is covered with ſnow frozen a yard thick, the common ſoldier will lie in the field two months together without tent, or covering over head; only hangs up his mantle againſt that part from whence the weather drives, and kindling a little fire, lies him down before it, with his back under the wind: his drink, the cold ſtream mingled with oatmeal, and the ſame all his food: his horſe, fed with green wood and bark, ſtands all this while in the open field, yet does his ſervice. The emperor gives no pay at all, but to ſtrangers; yet repays good deſerts in war with certain lands during life; and they who oftenеſt are ſent to the wars, think themſelves moſt favoured ‡, though ſerving without wages. On the twelfth of December yearly, the emperor rides into the field, which is without the city, with all his nobility, on jennets and Turky horſes in great ſtate; before him five thouſand harquebuſiers, who ſhoot at a bank of ice, till they beat it down; the ordnance, which they have very fair of all ſorts, they plant againſt two wooden houſes filled with

* Hac. 239. 250. † Ibid. 314. 259. ‡ Ibid. 316.

earth at leaſt thirty foot thick, and beginning with the ſmalleſt, ſhoot them all off thrice over, having beat thoſe two houſes flat. Above the reſt ſix great cannon they have, whoſe bullet is a yard high, ſo that a man may ſee it flying: then out of mortar-pieces they ſhoot wildfire into the air. Thus the emperor having ſeen what his gunners can do, returns home in the ſame order.

They follow the Greek church, but with exceſs of ſuperſtitions *: their ſervice is in the Ruſſian tongue. They hold the ten commandments not to concern them, ſaying, that God gave them under the law, which Chriſt by his death on the croſs hath abrogated: the euchariſt they receive in both kinds. They obſerve four lents, have ſervice in their churches daily, from two hours before dawn till evening †; yet for whoredom, drunkenneſs, and extortion none worſe than the clergy.

They have many great and rich monaſteries ‡, where they keep great hoſpitality. That of Trojetes hath in it ſeven hundred friars, and is walled about with brick very ſtrongly, having many pieces of braſs ordnance on the walls; moſt of the lands, towns, and villages within forty miles belong to thoſe monks, who are alſo as great merchants as any in the land. During Eaſter holydays when two friends meet, they take each other by the hand; one of them ſaying the Lord is riſen; the other anſwering §, it is ſo of a truth; and then they kiſs, whether men or women. The emperor eſteemeth the metropolitan next to God, after our lady, and St. Nicholas, as being his ſpiritual officer, himſelf but his temporal. ‖ But the Muſcovites that border on Tartaria are yet Pagans.

When there is love between two ¶, the man, among other trifling gifts, ſends to the woman a whip, to ſignify, if ſhe offend, what ſhe muſt expect; and it is a rule among them, that if the wife be not beaten once a week, ſhe thinks herſelf not beloved, and is the worſe; yet they are very obedient, and ſtir not forth, but at ſome

* Hac. 253. † Ibid. 242, 321. ‡ Ibid. 320. § Ibid. 318. ‖ Ibid. 320. 254. ¶ Ibid. 322.

ſeaſons,

ſeaſons. Upon utter diſlike, the huſband divorces; which liberty no doubt they received firſt with their religion from the Greek church *, and the imperial laws.

Their dead they bury with new ſhoes on their feet †, as to a long journey; and put letters teſtimonial in their hands to St. Nicholas, or St. Peter, that this was a Ruſſe or Ruſſes, and died in the true faith; which, as they believe, St. Peter having read, forthwith admits him into Heaven.

They have no learning ‡, nor will ſuffer to be among them; their greateſt friendſhip is drinking; they are great talkers, liars, flatterers, and diſſemblers. They delight in groſs meats and noiſome fiſh; their drink is better, being ſundry ſorts of meath; the beſt made with juice of a ſweet and crimſon berry called Maliena, growing alſo in France §; other ſorts with blackcherry, or divers other berries: another drink they uſe in the ſpring drawn from the birch-tree root, whoſe ſap after June dries up. But there are no people that live ſo miſerably as the poor of Ruſſia; if they have ſtraw and water they make ſhift to live; for ſtraw dried and ſtamped in winter time is their bread; in ſummer graſs and roots; at all times bark of trees is good meat with them; yet many of them die in the ſtreet for hunger, none relieving, or regarding them.

When they are ſent into foreign countries ‖, or that ſtrangers come thither, they are very ſumptuous in apparel, elſe the duke himſelf goes but meanly.

In winter they travel only upon ſleds ¶, the ways being hard, and ſmooth with ſnow, the rivers all frozen: one horſe with a ſled will draw a man four hundred miles in three days; in ſummer the way is deep, and travelling ill. The Ruſſe of better ſort goes not out in winter, but on his ſled; in ſummer on his horſe: in his ſled he ſits on a carpet, or a white bear's ſkin; the ſled drawn with a horſe well decked, with many fox or wolf tails about his neck, guided by a boy on his back, other ſervants riding on the tail of the ſled.

The Ruſſian ſea breeds a certain beaſt which they call

* Hac. 314. † Ibid. 242, 254, 323. ‡ Ibid. 241, 314.
§ Ibid. 323. ‖ Ibid. 239. ¶ Ibid. 314.

a morſe;

a morſe *; who ſeeks his food on the rocks, climbing up with help of his teeth; whereof they make as great account as we of the elephant's tooth.

CHAP. II.

Of Samoëdia, Siberia, and other Countries north-eaſt, ſubject to the Muſcovites.

NORTH-EAST of Ruſſia lieth Samoëdia by the river Ob. This country was firſt diſcovered by Oneke a Ruſſian; who firſt trading privately among them in rich furs, got great wealth, and the knowledge of their country; then revealed his diſcovery to Boris protector to Pheodor, ſhowing how beneficial that country gained would be to the empire. Who ſending embaſſadors among them gallantly attired, by fair means won their ſubjection to the empire, every head paying yearly two ſkins of richeſt ſables. Thoſe meſſengers travelling alſo two hundred leagues beyond Ob eaſtward, made report of pleaſant countries, abounding with woods and fountains, and people riding on elks and loſhes; others drawn on ſleds by rein deer; others by dogs as ſwift as deer. The Samoëds that came along with thoſe meſſengers, returning to Moſco, admired the ſtatelineſs of that city, and were as much admired for excellent ſhooters, hitting every time the breadth of a penny, as far diſtant as hardly could be diſcerned.

The river Ob is reported † by the Ruſſes to be in breadth the ſailing of a ſummer's day; but full of iſlands and ſhoals, having neither woods, nor, till of late, inhabitants. Out of Ob they turn into the river Tawze. The Ruſſians have here, ſince the Samoëds yielded them ſubjection, two governors, with three or four hundred gunners; have built villages and ſome ſmall caſtles; all which place they call Mongozey or Molgomſay ‡. Further upland they have alſo built other cities of wood, conſiſting chiefly of Poles, Tartars, and Ruſſes,

* Hac. 252. † Purch. part 3. p. 543, 540. ‡ Ibid. 524, 526.

fugitive

fugitive or condemned men; as Vergateria, Siber whence the whole country is named, Tinna, thence Tobolſca on this ſide Ob, on the rivers Irtis, and Tobol, chief ſeat of the Ruſſian governor; above that, Zergolta in an iſland of Ob, where they have a cuſtomhouſe. Beyond that on the other ſide Ob, Narim, and Tooina, now a great city *. Certain churches alſo are erected in thoſe parts; but no man forced to religion; beyond Narim eaſtward on the river Telta is built the caſtle of Comgoſcoi, and all this plantation began ſince the year 1590, with many other towns like theſe. And theſe are the countries from whence come all the ſables and rich furs.

The Samoëds have no towns or certain place of abode, but up and down where they find moſs for their deer †; they live in companies peaceably, and are governed by ſome of the ancienteſt amongſt them, but are idolaters. They ſhoot wondrous cunningly; their arrow-heads are ſharpened ſtones, or fiſh bones, which latter ſerve them alſo for needles; their thread being the ſinews of certain ſmall beaſts, wherewith they ſow the furs which clothe them; the furry ſide in ſummer outward, in winter inward. They have many wives, and their daughters they ſell to him who bids moſt; which, if they be not liked, are turned back to their friends, the huſband allowing only to the father what the marriage feaſt ſtood him in. Wives are brought to bed there by their huſbands, and the next day go about as before. They till not the ground; but live on the fleſh of thoſe wild beaſts which they hunt. They are the only guides to ſuch as travel Jougoria, Siberia, or any of thoſe northeaſt parts in winter ‡; being drawn on ſleds with bucks, riding poſt day and night, if it be moonlight, and lodge on the ſnow under tents of deer-ſkins, in whatever place they find enough of white moſs to feed their ſledſtags, turning them looſe to dig it up themſelves out of the deep ſnow: another Samoëd, ſtepping to the next wood, brings in ſtore of firing: round about which they lodge within their tents, leaving the top open to vent

* Purch. part 3. p. 526, 527. † Ibid. 522. 555. ‡ Ibid. 548.

ſmoke;

ſmoke; in which manner they are as warm as the ſtoves in Ruſſia. They carry proviſion of meat with them, and partake beſides of what fowl or veniſon the Samoëd kills with ſhooting by the way; their drink is melted ſnow. Two deer being yoked to a ſled, riding poſt, will draw two hundred miles in twenty-four hours without reſting, and laden with their ſtuff, will draw it thirty miles in twelve.

CHAP. III.

Of Tingoëſia, and the Countries adjoining eaſtward, as far as Cathay.

BEYOND Narim and Comgoſcoi* the ſoldiers of thoſe garriſons, travelling by appointment of the Ruſſian governor in the year 1605, found many goodly countries not inhabited, many vaſt deſerts and rivers; till at the end of ten weeks they ſpied certain cottages and herds, or companies of people, which came to them with reverent behaviour, and ſignified to the Samoëds and Tartars, which were guides to the Ruſſian ſoldiers, that they were called Tingoëſi; that their dwelling was on the great river Jeniſſey. This river is ſaid to be far bigger than Ob†, diſtant from the mouth thereof four days and nights ſailing; and likewiſe falls into the ſea of Naramzie: it hath high mountains on the eaſt, ſome of which caſt out fire, to the weſt a plain and fertile country, which in the ſpring-time it overflows about ſeventy leagues; all that time the inhabitants keep them in the mountains, and then return with their cattle to the plain. The Tingoëſi are a very gentle nation, they have great ſwoln throats ‡, like thoſe in Italy that live under the Alps; at perſuaſion of the Samoëds they forthwith ſubmitted to the Ruſſian government: and at their requeſt travelling the next year to diſcover ſtill eaſtward, they came at length to a river, which the ſavages of that place called Piſida §, ſomewhat leſs than Jeniſſey; be-

* Purch. part 3. p. 527. † Ibid. 527, 551, 546, 527. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid. 528.

yond

yond which hearing ofttimes the tolling of brazen bells, and ſometimes the noiſe of men and horſes, they durſt not paſs over; they ſaw there certain ſails afar off, ſquare, and therefore ſuppoſed to be like Indian or China ſails, and the rather for that they report that great guns have been heard ſhot off from thoſe veſſels. In April and May they were much delighted with the fair proſpect of that country, repleniſhed with many rare trees, plants and flowers, beaſts and fowl. Some think here to be the borders of Tangut in the north of Cathay *. Some of thoſe Samoëds, about the year 1610, travelled ſo far till they came in view of a white city, and heard a great din of bells, and report there came to them men all armed in iron from head to foot. And in the year 1611, divers out of Cathay, and others from Alteen Czar, who ſtyles himſelf the golden king, came and traded at Zergolta, or Surgoot, on the river Ob, bringing with them plates of ſilver. Whereupon Michael Pheodorowich the Ruſſian emperor, in the year 1619, ſent certain of his people from Tooma to Alteen, and Cathay, who returned with embaſſadors from thoſe princes. Theſe relate †, that from Tooma in ten days and a half, three days whereof over a lake, where rubies and ſapphires grow, they came to the Alteen king, or king of Alty; through his land in five weeks they paſſed into the country of Sheromugaly, or Mugalla, where reigned a queen called Manchica; whence in four days they came to the borders of Cathay, fenced with a ſtone wall, fifteen fathom high; along the ſide of which, having on the other hand many pretty towns belonging to queen Manchica, they travelled ten days without ſeeing any on the wall, till they came to the gate; where they ſaw very great ordnance lying, and three thouſand men in watch. They traffic with other nations at the gate, and very few at once are ſuffered to enter. They were travelling from Tooma to this gate twelve weeks; and from thence to the great city of Cathay ten days. Where being conducted to the houſe of embaſſadors, within a few days there came

* Purch. part 3. p. 543, 546. † Ibid. 797.

a ſecretary

a ſecretary from king Tambur, with two hundred men well apparelled, and riding on aſſes, to feaſt them with divers ſorts of wine, and to demand their meſſage; but having brought no preſents with them, they could not be admitted to his ſight; only with his letter to the emperor they returned, as is aforeſaid, to Tobolſca. They report, that the land of Mugalla reaches from Boghar to the north ſea*, and hath many caſtles built of ſtone, fourſquare, with towers at the corners covered with glazed tiles; and on the gates alarmbells, or watchbells, twenty pound weight of metal; their houſes built alſo of ſtone, the cielings cunningly painted with flowers of all colours. The people are idolaters; the country exceeding fruitful. They have aſſes and mules, but no horſes. The people of Cathay ſay, that this great wall ſtretches from Boghar to the north ſea, four months journey, with continual towers a flight ſhot diſtant from each other, and beacons on every tower; and that this wall is the bound between Mugalla and Cathay. In which are but five gates; thoſe narrow, and ſo low, that a horſeman ſitting upright cannot ride in. Next to the wall is the city Shirokalga; it hath a caſtle well furniſhed with ſhort ordnance and ſmall ſhot, which they who keep watch on the gates, towers, and walls, duly at ſunſet and riſing diſcharge thrice over. The city abounds with rich merchandize, velvets, damaſks, cloth of gold, and tiſſue, with many ſorts of ſugars. Like to this is the city Yara, their markets ſmell odoriferouſly with ſpices, and Tayth more rich than that. Shirooan yet more magnificent, half a day's journey through, and exceeding populous. From hence to Cathaia the imperial city is two days journey, built of white ſtone, fourſquare, in circuit four days going, cornered with four white towers, very high and great, and others very fair along the wall, white intermingled with blue, and loopholes furniſhed with ordnance. In midſt of this white city ſtands a caſtle built of magnet, where the king dwells, in a ſumptuous palace, the top whereof is overlaid with gold. The city ſtands on even ground encompaſſed with

* Purch. p. 799.

the

the river Youga, ſeven days journey from the ſea. The people are very fair but not warlike, delighting moſt in rich traffick. Theſe relations are referred hither, becauſe we have them from Ruſſians; who report alſo, that there is a ſea beyond * Ob ſo warm, that all kind of ſeafowl live thereabout as well in winter as in ſummer. Thus much briefly of the ſea and lands between Ruſſia and Cathay.

CHAP. IV.

The ſucceſſion of Moſcovia dukes and emperors, taken out of their chronicles by a Polac, with ſome later additions †.

THE great dukes of Moſcovy derive their pedigree, though without ground, from Auguſtus Cæſar: whom they fable to have ſent certain of his kindred to be governors over many remote provinces; and among them, Pruſſus over Pruſſia; him to have had his ſeat on the eaſtern Baltic ſhore by the river Wixel; of whom Rurek, Sinaus, and Truuor deſcended by the fourth generation, were by the Ruſſians, living then without civil government, ſent for in the year 573, to bear rule over them, at the perſuaſion of Goſtomiſlius chief citizen of Novogrod. They therefore, taking with them Olechus their kinſman, divided thoſe countries among themſelves, and each in his province taught them civil government.

Ivor, ſon of Rurek, the reſt dying without iſſue, became ſucceſſor to them all; being left in nonage under the protection of Olechus. He took to wife Olha daughter to a citizen of Pleſco, of whom he begat Stoſlaus; but after that being ſlain by his enemies, Olha his wife went to Conſtantinople, and was there baptized Helena.

Stoſlaus fought many battles with his enemies; but was at length by them ſlain, who made a cup of his ſkull, engraven with this ſentence in gold; "Seeking

* Purch. p. 806. † Hac. vol. 1. p. 221.

after

after other men's, he loſt his own." His ſons were Teropulchus, Olega, and Volodimir.

Volodimir, having ſlain the other two, made himſelf ſole lord of Ruſſia; yet after that fact inclining to chriſtian religion, had to wife Anna ſiſter of Baſilius and Conſtantine Greek emperors; and with all his people, in the year 988, was baptized, and called Baſilius. Howbeit Zonaras reporteth, that before that time Baſilius the Greek emperor ſent a biſhop to them; at whoſe preaching they not being moved, but requiring a miracle, he after devout prayers, taking the book of goſpel into his hands, threw it before them all into the fire; which remaining there unconſumed, they were converted.

Volodimir had eleven ſons, among whom he divided his kingdom; Boriſtus and Glebus for their holy life regiſtered ſaints; and their feaſt kept every year in November with great ſolemnity. The reſt, through contention to have the ſole government, ruined each other; leaving only Jaroſlaus inheritor of all.

Volodimir, ſon of Jaroſlaus, kept his reſidence in the ancient city Kiow upon the river Boriſthenes. And after many conflicts with the ſons of his uncles and having ſubdued all, was called Monomachus. He made war with Conſtantine the Greek emperor, waſted Thracia, and returning home with great ſpoils to prepare new war, was appeaſed by Conſtantine; who ſent Neophytus biſhop of Epheſus, and Euſtathius abbot of Jeruſalem, to preſent him with part of our Saviour's croſs, and other rich gifts, and to ſalute him by the name of Czar, or Cæſar: with whom he thenceforth entered into league and amity.

After him in order of deſcent Vuſzevolodus, George, Demetrius.

Then George his ſon, who in the year 1237 was ſlain in battle by the Tartar prince Bathy, who ſubdued Muſcovia, and made it tributary. From that time the Tartarians made ſuch dukes of Ruſſia, as they thought would be moſt pliable to their ends; of whom they required, as oft as embaſſadors came to him out of Tartary, to go out and meet them; and in his own court to ſtand bareheaded, while they ſate and delivered their meſſage.

At which time the Tartars waſted alſo Polonia, Seleſia, and Hungaria, till pope Innocent the Fourth obtained peace of them for five years. This Bathy, ſay the Ruſſians, was the father of Tamerlane, whom they call Temirkutla.

Then ſucceeded Jaroſlaus, the brother of George, then Alexander his ſon.

Daniel, the ſon of Alexander, was he who firſt made the city of Moſco his royal ſeat, builded the caſtle, and took on him the title of great duke.

John, the ſon of Daniel, was ſurnamed Kaleta, that word ſignifying a ſcrip, out of which, continually carried about with him, he was wont to deal his alms.

His ſon Simeon, dying without iſſue, left the kingdom to John his next brother; and he to his ſon Demetrius, who left two ſons, Baſilius and George.

Baſilius reigning, had a ſon of his own name, but doubting leſt not of his own body, through the ſuſpicion he had of his wife's chaſtity, him he diſinherits, and gives the dukedom to his brother George.

George, putting his nephew Baſilius in priſon, reigns; yet at his death, either through remorſe, or other cauſe, ſurrenders him the dukedom.

Baſilius, unexpectedly thus attaining his ſuppoſed right, enjoyed it not long in quiet; for Andrew and Demetrius, the two ſons of George, counting it injury not to ſucceed their father, made war upon him, and ſurpriſing him on a ſudden, put out his eyes. Notwithſtanding which, the boiarens, or nobles, kept their allegiance to the duke, though blind, whom therefore they called Cziemnox.

John Vaſiliwich, his ſon, was the firſt who brought the Ruſſian name out of obſcurity into renown. To ſecure his own eſtate, he put to death as many of his kindred, as were likely to pretend; and ſtyled himſelf great duke of Wolodimiria, Moſcovia, Novogardia, Czar of all Ruſſia. He won Pleſco, the only walled city in all Muſcovy, and Novogrod, the richeſt, from the Lithuanians, to whom they had been ſubject fifty years before; and from the latter carried home three hundred waggons laden with treaſure. He had war with Alex-

ander king of Poland, and with the Livonians; with him, on pretence of withdrawing his daughter Helena, whom he had to wife, from the Greek church to the Romiſh; with the Livonians for no other cauſe, but to enlarge his bounds: though he were often foiled by Plettebergius, great maſter of the Pruſſian knights. His wife was daughter to the duke of Tyverſky; of her he begat John; and to him reſigned his dukedom; giving him to wife the daughter of Steven, palatine of Moldavia; by whom he had iſſue Demetrius, and deceaſed ſoon after. Vaſiliwich, therefore, reaſſuming the dukedom, married a ſecond wife Sophia, daughter to Thomas Palæologus: who is ſaid to have received her dowry out of the pope's treaſury, upon promiſe of the duke to become Romiſh.

This princeſs, of a haughty mind, often complaining that ſhe was married to the Tartars vaſſal, at length by continual perſuaſions, and by a wile, found means to eaſe her huſband and his country of that yoke. For whereas till then the Tartar had his procurators, who dwelt in the very caſtle of Moſco, to overſee ſtate affairs, ſhe feigned that from Heaven ſhe had been warned, to build a temple to ſaint Nicholas on the ſame place where the Tartar agents had their houſe. Being therefore delivered of a ſon, ſhe made it her requeſt to the prince of Tartary, whom ſhe had invited to the baptizing, that he would give her that houſe, which obtaining, ſhe razed to the ground, and removed thoſe overſeers out of the caſtle; and ſo by degrees diſpoſſeſſed them of all which they held in Ruſſia. She prevailed alſo with her huſband, to transfer the dukedom from Demetrius the ſon of John deceaſed, to Gabriel his eldeſt by her.

Gabriel, no ſooner duke, but changed his name to Baſilius, and ſet his mind to do nobly; he recovered great part of Moſcovy from Vitoldus duke of Lithuania; and on the Boriſthenes won Smolenſko and many other cities in the year 1514. He divorced his firſt wife, and of Helena daughter to duke Glinſki begat Juan Vaſiliwich.

Juan Vaſiliwich, being left a child, was committed to George his uncle and protector; at twenty-five years of age he vanquiſhed the Tartars of Cazan and Aſtracan, bringing home with him their princes captive; made cruel

cruel war in Livonia, pretending right of inheritance. He ſeemed exceedingly devout; and whereas the Ruſſians in their churches uſe out of zeal and reverence to knock their heads againſt the ground, his forehead was ſeldom free of ſwellings and bruiſes, and very often ſeen to bleed. The cauſe of his rigour in government he alleged to be the malice and treachery of his ſubjects. But ſome of the * nobles, incited by his cruelty, called in the Crim Tartar, who in the year 1571 broke into Ruſſia, burnt Moſco to the ground. He reigned fifty-four years, had three ſons, of which the eldeſt, being ſtrook on a time by his father, with grief thereof died; his other ſons were Pheodor and Demetrius. In the time of Juan Vaſiliwich the Engliſh came firſt by ſea into the north parts of Ruſſia.

Pheodor Juanowich, being under age, was left to the protection of Boris, brother to the young empreſs, and third ſon by adoption in the emperor's will †. After forty days of mourning, the appointed time of coronation being come, the emperor iſſuing out of his palace §, the whole clergy before him, entered with his nobility the church of Blaveſhina or bleſſedneſs; whence after ſervice to the church of Michael, then to our lady church, being the cathedral. In midſt whereof a chair was placed, and moſt unvaluable garments put upon him; there alſo was the imperial crown ſet on his head by the metropolitan, who out of a ſmall book in his hand read exhortations to the emperor of juſtice and peaceable government. After this, riſing from his chair he was inveſted with an upper robe, ſo thick with orient pearls and ſtones, as weighed two hundred pounds, the train born up by ſix dukes; his ſtaff imperial was of a unicorn's horn three foot and a half long, beſet with rich ſtones; his globe and ſix crowns carried before him by princes of the blood; his horſe at the church door ſtood ready with a covering of embroidered pearl, ſaddle and all ſuitable, to the value of three hundred thouſand marks. There was a kind of bridge made three ways, one hundred and fifty fathom long, three foot high, two fathom broad, whereon the emperor with his train went from

* Horſey's obſervations. † Hac. vol. 1. 466. § Horſey.

one church to another above the infinite throng of people making loud acclamations: at the emperor's returning from thoſe churches they were ſpread underfoot with cloth of gold, the porches with red velvet, the bridges with ſcarlet and ſtammel cloth, all which, as the emperor paſſed by, were cut and ſnatched by them that ſtood next; beſides new minted coins of gold and ſilver caſt among the people. The empreſs in her palace was placed before a great open window in rich and ſhining robes, among her ladies. After this the emperor came into parliament, where he had a banquet ſerved by his nobles in princely order; two ſtanding on either ſide his chair with battleaxes of gold; three of the next rooms great and large, being ſet round with plate of gold and ſilver, from the ground up to the roof. This triumph laſted a week, wherein many royal paſtimes were ſeen; after which, election was made of the nobles to new offices and dignities. The concluſion of all was a peal of one hundred and ſeventy braſs ordnance two miles without the city, and twenty thouſand harquebuzes twice over; and ſo the emperor with at leaſt fifty thouſand horſe returned through the city to his palace, where all the nobility, officers, and merchants brought him rich preſents. Shortly after the emperor, by direction of Boris, conquered the large country of Siberia, and took priſoner the king thereof; he removed alſo corrupt officers and former taxes. In ſum, a great alteration in the government followed, yet all quietly and without tumult. Theſe things reported abroad ſtrook ſuch awe into the neighbour kings, that the Crim Tartar, with his wives alſo, and many nobles valiant and perſonable men, came to viſit the Ruſſian. There came alſo twelve hundred Poliſh gentlemen, many Circaſſians, and people of other nations, to offer ſervice; embaſſadors from the Turk, the Perſian, Georgian, and other Tartar princes; from Almany, Poland, Sweden, Denmark. But this glory laſted not long, through the treachery of Boris, who procured the death firſt of Demetrius, then of the emperor himſelf, whereby the imperial race, after the ſucceſſion of three hundred years, was quite extinguiſhed.

Boris adopted, as before was ſaid, third ſon to Juan Vaſiliwich, without impeachment now aſcended the throne; but neither did he enjoy long what he had ſo wickedly compaſſed, divine revenge raiſing up againſt him a counterfeit of that Demetrius, whom he had cauſed to be murdered at Ouglets *. This upſtart, ſtrengthened with many Poles and Coſſacks, appears in arms to claim his right out of the hands of Boris, who ſent againſt him an army of two hundred thouſand men, many of whom revolted to this Demetrius: Peter Baſman, the general, returning to Moſco with the empty triumph of a reported victory. But the enemy ſtill advancing, Boris one day, after a plentiful meal, finding himſelf heavy and pained in the ſtomach, laid him down on his bed; but ere his doctors, who made great haſte, came to him, was found ſpeechleſs, and ſoon after died with grief, as is ſuppoſed, of his ill ſucceſs againſt Demetrius. Before his death, though it were ſpeedy, he would be ſhorn, and new chriſtened. He had but one ſon, whom he loved ſo fondly, as not to ſuffer him out of ſight; uſing to ſay he was lord and father of his ſon, and yet his ſervant, yea his ſlave. To gain the people's love, which he had loſt by his ill getting the empire, he uſed two policies; firſt he cauſed Moſco to be fired in four places, that in the quenching thereof he might ſhow his great care and tenderneſs of the people; among whom he likewiſe diſtributed ſo much of his bounty, as both new built their houſes, and repaired their loſſes. At another time the people murmuring, that the great peſtilence, which had then ſwept away a third part of the nation, was the puniſhment of their electing him, a murderer, to reign over them, he built galleries round about the utmoſt wall of Moſco, and there appointed for one whole month twenty thouſand pound to be given to the poor, which well nigh ſtopped their mouths. After the death of Boris, Peter Baſman, their only hope and refuge, though a young man, was ſent again to the wars, with him many Engliſh, Scots, French, and Dutch; who all with the other general Go-

* Poſt Chriſt. 1604. Purch. par. 3. p. 750.

leeche fell off to the new Demetrius, whoſe meſſengers, coming now to the ſuburbs of Moſco, were brought by the multitude to that ſpacious field before the caſtle gate, within which the council were then ſitting, many of whom were by the people's threatening called out, and conſtrained to hear the letters of Demetrius openly read: which, long ere the end, wrought ſo with the multitude, that furiouſly they broke into the caſtle, laying violence on all they met; when ſtraight appeared coming towards them two meſſengers of Demetrius formerly ſent, pitifully whipped and roaſted, which added to their rage. Then was the whole city in an uproar, all the great counſellors houſes ranſacked, eſpecially of the Godonovas, the kindred and family of Boris. Such of the nobles that were beſt beloved by entreaty prevailed at length to put an end to this tumult. The empreſs, flying to a ſafer place, had her collar of pearl pulled from her neck; and by the next meſſage command was given to ſecure her, with her ſon and daughter. Whereupon Demetrius by general conſent was proclaimed emperor. The empreſs, now ſeeing all loſt, counſelled the prince her ſon to follow his father's example, who, it ſeems, had diſpatched himſelf by poiſon; and with a deſperate courage beginning the deadly health, was pledged effectually by her ſon; but the daughter, only ſipping, eſcaped. Others aſcribe this deed to the ſecret command of Demetrius, and ſelf-murder imputed to them, to avoid the envy of ſuch a command.

Demetrius Evanowich, for ſo he called himſelf, who ſucceeded *, was credibly reported the ſon of Gregory Peupoloy a Ruſſe gentleman, and in his younger years to have been ſhorn a friar, but eſcaping from the monaſtery, to have travelled Germany and other countries, but chiefly Poland: where he attained to good ſufficiency in arms and other experience; which raiſed in him ſuch high thoughts, as, grounding on a common belief among the Ruſſians, that the young Demetrius was not dead, but conveyed away, and their hatred againſt Boris, on this foundation, with ſome other circumſtances, to build

* Purch. part 3. p. 764.

his

his hopes no lower than an empire; which on his firſt diſcovery found acceptation ſo generally, as planted him at length on the royal ſeat: but not ſo firmly as the fair beginning promiſed; for in a ſhort while the Ruſſians finding themſelves abuſed by an impoſtor, on the ſixth day after his marriage, obſerving when his guard of Poles were moſt ſecure, ruſhing into the palace before break of day, dragged him out of his bed, and when he had confeſſed the fraud, pulled him to pieces; with him Peter Baſman was alſo ſlain, and both their dead bodies laid open in the market-place. He was of no preſence, but otherwiſe of a princely diſpoſition; too bountiful, which occaſioned ſome exactions; in other matters a great lover of juſtice, not unworthy the empire which he had gotten, and loſt only through greatneſs of mind, neglecting the conſpiracy, which he knew the Ruſſians were plotting. Some ſay their hatred grew, for that they ſaw him alienated from the Ruſſian manners and religion, having made Buchinſkoy a learned proteſtant his ſecretary. Some report from Gilbert's relation, who was a Scot, a captain of his guard, that lying on his bed awake, not long before the conſpiracy, he ſaw the appearance of an aged man coming toward him, at which he roſe, and called to them that watched; but they denied to have ſeen any ſuch paſs by them. He returning to his bed, and within an hour after, troubled again with the ſame apparition, ſent for Buchinſkoy, telling him he had now twice the ſame night ſeen an aged man, who at his ſecond coming told him, that though he were a good prince of himſelf, yet for the injuſtice and oppreſſion of his inferiour miniſters, his empire ſhould be taken from him. The ſecretary counſelled him to embrace true religion, affirming that for lack thereof his officers were ſo corrupt. The emperor ſeemed to be much moved, and to intend what was perſuaded him. But a few days after, the other ſecretary, a Ruſſian, came to him with a drawn ſword, of which the emperor made ſlight at firſt; but he after bold words aſſaulted him, ſtraight ſeconded by other conſpirators, crying liberty. Gilbert, with many of the guard overſuddenly ſurpriſed, retreated to Coluga, a town which they fortified; moſt

of the other ſtrangers were maſſacred, except the Engliſh, whoſe mediation ſaved alſo Buchinſkoy. Shuſky, who ſucceeded him, reports in a letter to king James otherwiſe of him; that his right name was Gryſhca the ſon of Boughdan; that to eſcape puniſhment for villanies done, he turned friar, and fell at laſt to the black art; and fearing that the metropolitan intended therefore to impriſon him, fled into Lettow; where by counſel of Sigiſmund the Poland king, he began to call himſelf Demetry of Ouglitts; and by many libels and ſpies privily ſent into Moſco, gave out the ſame; that many letters and meſſengers thereupon were ſent from Boris into Poland, and from the patriarch, to acquaint them who the runnagate was: but the Polanders giving them no credit, furniſhed him the more with arms and money, notwithſtanding the league; and ſent the palatine Sandamerſko and other lords to accompany him into Ruſſia, gaining alſo a prince of the Crim Tartars to his aid; that the army of Boris, hearing of his ſudden death, yielded to this Gryſhca, who, taking to wife the daughter of Sandamerſko, attempted to root out the Ruſſian clergy, and to bring in the Romiſh religion, for which purpoſe many jeſuits came along with him. Whereupon Shuſky with the nobles and metropolitans, conſpiring againſt him, in half a year gathered all the forces of Moſcovia, and ſurpriſing him, found in writing under his own hand all theſe his intentions; letters alſo from the pope and cardinals to the ſame effect, not only to ſet up the religion of Rome, but to force it upon all, with death to them that refuſed.

Vaſily Evanowich Shuſky *, after the ſlaughter of Demetry or Gryſhca, was elected emperor, having not long before been at the block for reporting to have ſeen the true Demetrius dead and buried; but Gryſhca not only recalled him, but advanced him to be the inſtrument of his own ruin. He was then about the age of fifty; nobly deſcended, never married, of great wiſdom reputed, a favourer of the Engliſh: for he ſaved them from rifling in the former tumults. Some ſay † he

* Poſt Chriſt. 1606. † Purch. part 3. p. 769, &c.

modeſtly

modeſtly refuſed the crown, till by lot four times together it fell to him; yet after that, growing jealous of his title, removed by poiſon and other means all the nobles, that were like to ſtand his rivals; and is ſaid to have conſulted with witches of the Samoeds, Lappians and Tartarians, about the ſame fears; and being warned of one Michalowich to have put to death three of that name, yet a fourth was reſerved by fate to ſucceed him, being then a youth attendant in the court, one of thoſe that held the golden axes, and leaſt ſuſpected. But before that time he alſo was ſupplanted by another reviving Demetrius brought in by the Poles; whoſe counterfeited hand, and ſtrange relating of privateſt circumſtances, had almoſt deceived Gilbert himſelf, had not their perſons been utterly unlike; but Gryſhca's wife ſo far believed him for her huſband, as to receive him to her bed. Shuſky, beſieged in his caſtle of Moſco, was adventurouſly ſupplied with ſome powder and ammunition by the Engliſh; and with two thouſand French, Engliſh, and Scots, with other forces from Charles king of Sweden. The * Engliſh, after many miſeries of cold and hunger, and aſſaults by the way, deſerted by the French, yielded moſt of them to the Pole, near Smolenſko, and ſerved him againſt the Ruſs. † Meanwhile this ſecond Demetrius, being now rejected by the Poles, with thoſe Ruſſians that ſided with him laid ſiege to Moſco: Zolkiewſky, for Sigiſmund king of Poland, beleaguers on the other ſide with forty thouſand men; whereof fifteen hundred Engliſh, Scotch, and French. Shuſky, deſpairing ſucceſs, betakes him to a monaſtery; but with the city is yielded to the Pole; who turns now his force againſt the counterfeit Demetrius; he ſeeking to fly is by a Tartar ſlain in his camp. Smolenſko held out a ſiege of two years, then ſurrendered. Shuſky the emperor, carried away into Poland, there ended miſerably in priſon. But before his departure out of Moſcovy, the Polanders in his name ſending for the chief nobility, as to a laſt farewel, cauſe them to be entertained in a ſecret place and there diſpatched: by this means the eaſier to

* Poſt Chriſt. 1609. † Purch. 779.

ſubdue

ſubdue the people. Yet the Poles were ſtarved at length out of thoſe places in Moſco, which they had fortified. Wherein the Ruſſians, who beſieged them, found, as is reported, ſixty barrels of man's fleſh powdered, being the bodies of ſuch as died among them, or were ſlain in fight.

* After which the empire of Ruſſia broke to pieces, the prey of ſuch as could catch, every one naming himſelf, and ſtriving to be accounted, that Demetrius of Ouglitts. Some choſe Uladiſlaus king Sigiſmund's ſon, but he not accepting, they fell to a popular government; killing all the nobles under pretence of favouring the Poles. Some overtures of receiving them were made, as ſome ſay, to king James, and Sir John Meric, and Sir William Ruſſell imployed therein. Thus Ruſſia remaining in this confuſion, it happened that a mean man, a butcher, dwelling in the north about Duina, inveighing againſt the baſeneſs of their nobility †, and the corruption of officers, uttered words, that if they would but chooſe a faithful treaſurer to pay well the ſoldiers, and a good general (naming one Pozarſky, a poor gentleman, who after good ſervice done, lived not far off retired and neglected;) that then he doubted not to drive out the Poles. The people aſſent, and chooſe that general; the butcher they make their treaſurer; who both ſo well diſcharged their places, that with an army ſoon gathered they raiſe the ſiege of Moſco, which the Polanders had renewed; and with Boris Licin, another great ſoldier of that country, fall into conſultation about the choice of an emperor, and chooſe at laſt Michalowich, or Michael Pheodorowich, the fatal youth, whoſe name Shuſky ſo feared.

‡ Michael Pheodorowich thus elected by the valour of Pozarſky and Boris Licin, made them both generals of his forces, joining with them another great commander of the Coſſacks, whoſe aid had much befriended him; the butcher alſo was made a counſellor of ſtate. Finally, a peace was made up between the Ruſſians and the Poles; and that partly by the mediation of king James.

* Poſt Chriſt. 1612. † Purch. par. 3. 790. ‡ Poſt Chriſt. 1613.

CHAP. V.

The firſt diſcovery of Ruſſia by the north-eaſt, 1553, with the Engliſh embaſſies, and entertainments at that court, until the year 1604.

THE diſcovery of Ruſſia by the northern ocean*, made firſt, of any nation that we know, by Engliſhmen, might have ſeemed an enterpriſe almoſt heroic; if any higher end than the exceſſive love of gain and traffic had animated the deſign. Nevertheleſs, that in regard that many things not unprofitable to the knowledge of nature, and other obſervations are hereby come to light, as good events ofttimes ariſe from evil occaſions, it will not be the worſt labour to relate briefly the beginning, and proſecution of this adventurous voyage; until it became at laſt a familiar paſſage.

When our merchants perceived the commodities of England to be in ſmall requeſt abroad, and foreign merchandize to grow higher in eſteem and value than before, they began to think with themſelves, how this might be remedied. And ſeeing how the Spaniards and Portugals had increaſed their wealth by diſcovery of new trades and countries, they reſolved upon ſome new and ſtrange navigation. At the ſame time Sebaſtian Chabota, a man for the knowledge of ſea affairs much renowned in thoſe days, happened to be in London. With him firſt they conſult; and by his advice conclude to furniſh out three ſhips for the ſearch and diſcovery of the northern parts. And having heard that a certain worm is bred in that ocean, which many times eateth through the ſtrongeſt oak, they contrive to cover ſome part of the keel of thoſe ſhips with thin ſheets of lead; and victual them for eighteen months; allowing equally to their journey, their ſtay, and their return. Arms alſo they provide, and ſtore of munition, with ſufficient captains and governors for ſo great an enter-

* Hac. vol. 1. 243, 234.

priſe.

priſe. To which among many, and ſome void of experience that offered themſelves, Sir Hugh Willoughby, a valiant gentleman, earneſtly requeſted to have the charge. Of whom before all others both for his goodly perſonage, and ſingular ſkill in the ſervices of war, they made choice to be admiral; and of Richard Chancelor, a man greatly eſteemed for his ſkill, to be chief pilot. This man was brought up by Mr. Henry Sidney, afterwards deputy of Ireland, who coming where the adventurers were gathered together, though then a young man, with a grave and elegant ſpeech commended Chancelor unto them.

After this, they omitted no inquiry after any perſon, that might inform them concerning thoſe north-eaſterly parts, to which the voyage tended; and two Tartarians then of the king's ſtable were ſent for; but they were able to anſwer nothing to purpoſe. So after much debate it was concluded, that by the twentieth of May the ſhips ſhould depart. Being come near Greenwich, where the court then lay, preſently the courtiers came running out, the privy council at the windows, the reſt on the towers and battlements. The mariners all apparelled in watchet, or ſkycoloured cloth, diſcharge their ordnance; the noiſe whereof, and of the people ſhouting, is anſwered from the hills and waters with as loud an echo. Only the good king Edward then ſick beheld not this ſight, but died ſoon after. From hence putting into Harwich, they ſtaid long and loſt much time. At length paſſing by Shetland, they kenned a far off Ægelands, being an innumerable ſort of iſlands called Roſt Iſlands in ſixty-ſix degrees. Thence to Lofoot in ſixty-eight, to Seinam in ſeventy degrees; theſe iſlands belong all to the crown of Denmark. Whence departing Sir Hugh Willoughby ſet out his flag, by which he called together the chief men of his other ſhips to counſel; where they conclude, in caſe they happened to be ſcattered by tempeſt, that Wardhouſe, a noted haven in Finmark, be the appointed place of their meeting. The very ſame day afternoon ſo great a tempeſt aroſe, that the ſhips were ſome driven one way, ſome another, in great peril. The general with his loudeſt voice called

to

to Chancelor not to be far from him; but in vain, for the admiral ſailing much better than his ſhip, and bearing all her ſails, was carried with great ſwiftneſs ſoon out of ſight; but before that, the ſhip-boat, ſtriking againſt her ſhip, was overwhelmed in view of the Bonaventure, whereof Chancelor was captain. * The third ſhip alſo in the ſame ſtorm was loſt. But Sir Hugh Willoughby eſcaping that ſtorm, and wandering on thoſe deſolate ſeas till the eighteenth of September, put into a haven where they had weather as in the depth of winter; and there determining to abide till ſpring, ſent out three men ſouth-weſt to find inhabitants; who journied three days, but found none; then other three went weſtward four days journey, and laſtly three ſouth-eaſt three days; but they all returning without news of people, or any ſign of habitation, Sir Hugh with the company of his two ſhips abode there till January, as appears by a will ſince found in one of the ſhips; but then periſhed all with cold. This river or haven was Arzina in Lapland, near to Kegor †, where they were found dead the year after by certain Ruſſian fiſhermen. Whereof the Engliſh agent at Moſco having notice, ſent and recovered the ſhips with the dead bodies and moſt of the goods, and ſent them for England; but the ſhips being unſtaunch, as is ſuppoſed, by their two years wintering in Lapland, ſunk by the way with their dead, and them alſo that brought them. But now Chancelor, with his ſhip and company thus left, ſhaped his courſe to Wardhouſe, the place agreed on to expect the reſt; where having ſtaid ſeven days without tidings of them, he reſolves at length to hold on his voyage; and ſailed ſo far till he found no night, but continual day and ſun clearly ſhining on that huge and vaſt ſea for certain days. At length they enter into a great bay, named, as they knew after, from St. Nicholas; and ſpying a fiſherboat, made after him to know what people they were. The fiſhermen amazed with the greatneſs of his ſhip, to them a ſtrange and new ſight, ſought to fly; but overtaken, in great fear they proſtrate themſelves, and offer to kiſs his feet; but he

* Hac. 235. † Ibid. 464.

raiſing

raiſing them up with all ſigns and geſtures of courteſy, ſought to win their friendſhip. They no ſooner diſmiſſed, but ſpread abroad the arrival of a ſtrange nation, whoſe humanity they ſpake of with great affection; whereupon the people running together, with like return of all courteous uſage receive them; offering them victuals freely, nor refuſing to traffic, but for a loyal cuſtom which bound them from that, without firſt the conſent had of their king. After mutual demands of each other's nation, they found themſelves to be in Ruſſia, where Juan Vaſiliwich at that time reigned emperor. To whom privily the governor of that place ſending notice of the ſtrange gueſts that were arrived, held in the mean while our men in what ſuſpenſe he could. The emperor well pleaſed with ſo unexpected a meſſage, invites them to his court, offering them poſt horſes at his own charget or if the journey ſeemed over long, that they might freely traffic where they were. But ere this meſſenger could return, having loſt his way, the Muſcovites themſelves loath that our men ſhould depart, which they made ſhow to do, furniſhed them with guides and other conveniencies, to bring them to their king's preſence. Chancelor had now gone more than half his journey, when the ſledman ſent to court meets him on the way; delivers him the emperor's letters; which when the Ruſſes underſtood, ſo willing they were to obey the contents thereof, that they quarrelled and ſtrove who ſhould have the preferment to put his horſes to the ſled. So after a long and troubleſome journey of fifteen hundred miles he arrived at Moſco. After he had remained in the city about twelve days, a meſſenger was ſent to bring them to the king's houſe. Being entered within the court gates, and brought into an outward chamber, they beheld there a very honourable company to the number of a hundred, ſitting all apparelled in cloth of gold down to their ancles: next conducted to the chamber of preſence, there ſat the emperor on a lofty and very royal throne; on his head a diadem of gold, his robe all of goldſmiths work, in his hand a chryſtal ſceptre garniſhed and beſet with precious ſtones; no leſs was his countenance full of majeſty. Beſide him ſtood his chief

ſecretary; on his other ſide the great commander of ſilence, both in cloth of gold; then ſat his council of a hundred and fifty round about on high ſeats, clad all as richly. Chancelor, nothing abaſhed, made his obeiſance to the emperor after the Engliſh manner. The emperor having taken, and read his letters, after ſome enquiry of king Edward's health, invited them to dinner, and till then diſmiſſed them. But before diſmiſſion the ſecretary preſented their preſent bareheaded; till which time they were all covered; and before admittance our men had charge not to ſpeak, but when the emperor demanded aught. Having ſat two hours in the ſecretary's chamber, they were at length called in to dinner; where the emperor was ſet at table, now in a robe of ſilver, and another crown on his head. This place was called the golden palace, but without cauſe, for the Engliſhmen had ſeen many fairer; round about the room, but at diſtance, were other long tables; in the midſt a cupboard of huge and maſſy goblets, and other veſſels of gold and ſilver; among the reſt four great flaggons nigh two yards high, wrought in the top with devices of towers and dragons heads. The gueſts aſcended to their tables by three ſteps; all apparelled in linen, and that lined with rich furs. The meſſes came in without order, but all in chargers of gold, both to the emperor, and to the reſt that dined there, which were two hundred perſons; on every board alſo were ſet cups of gold without number. The ſervitors, one hundred and forty, were likewiſe arrayed in gold, and waited with caps on their heads. They that are in high favour ſit on the ſame bench with the emperor, but far off. Before meat came in, according to the cuſtom of their kings, he ſent to every gueſt a ſlice of bread; whom the officer naming, ſaith thus, John Baſiliwich, emperor of Ruſs, &c., doth reward thee with bread, at which words all men ſtand up. Then were ſwans in ſeveral pieces ſerved in, each piece in a ſeveral diſh, which the great duke ſends about as the bread, and ſo likewiſe the drink. In dinner-time he twice changed his crown, his waiters thrice their apparel; to whom the emperor in like manner gives both bread and drink with his own hands; which they ſay

is done to the intent that he may perfectly know his own houſehold; and indeed when dinner was done, he called his nobles every one before him by name; and by this time candles were brought in, for it grew dark; and the Engliſh departed to their lodgings from dinner, an hour within night.

In the year fifteen hundred and fifty-five *, Chancelor made another voyage to this place with letters from queen Mary; had a houſe in Moſco, and diet appointed him; and was ſoon admitted to the emperor's preſence in a large room ſpread with carpets; at his entering and ſalutation all ſtood up, the emperor only ſitting, except when the queen's name was read, or ſpoken; for then he himſelf would riſe: at dinner he ſat bareheaded; his crown and rich cap ſtanding on a pinnacle by. † Chancelor returning for England, Oſep Napea, governor of Wologda, came in his ſhip embaſſador from the Ruſſe; but ſuffering ſhipwreck in Pettiſlego, a bay in Scotland, Chancelor, who took more care to ſave the embaſſador than himſelf, was drowned, the ſhip rifled, and moſt of her lading made booty by the people thereabout.

In the year fifteen hundred and fifty ſeven ‡, Oſep Napea returned into his country with Anthony Jenkinſon, who had the command of four tall ſhips. He reports of a whirlpool between the Roſt Iſlands and Lofoot called Maleſtrand; which from half ebb to half flood is heard to make ſo terrible a noiſe, as ſhakes the doorrings of houſes in thoſe iſlands ten miles off; whales that come within the current thereof make a pitiful cry; trees carried in and caſt out again have the ends and boughs of them ſo beaten, as they ſeem like the ſtalks of bruiſed hemp. About Zeinam they ſaw many whales very monſtrous, hard by their ſhips; whereof ſome by eſtimation ſixty foot long; they roared hideouſly, it being then the time of their engendering. At Wardhouſe, he ſaith, the cattle are fed with fiſh. Coming to Moſco, he found the emperor ſitting aloft in a chair of ſtate, richly crowned, a ſtaff of gold in his hand wrought with coſtly ſtone. Diſtant from him ſat his

* Hac. 258, 263, 465. † Ibid. 286. ‡ Ibid. 310, &c.

brother,

brother, and a youth the emperor's ſon of Caſan, whom the Ruſſe had conquered; there dined with him diverſe embaſſadors, chriſtian and heathen, diverſely apparelled: his brother with ſome of the chief nobles ſat with him at table: the gueſts were in all ſix hundred. In dinner-time came in ſix muſicians; and ſtanding in the midſt, ſung three ſeveral times, but with little or no delight to our men; there dined at the ſame time in other halls two thouſand Tartars, who came to ſerve the duke in his wars. The Engliſh were ſet at a ſmall table by themſelves, direct before the emperor; who ſent them diverſe bowls of wine and meath, and many diſhes from his own hand: the meſſes were but mean, but the change of wines and ſeveral meaths were wonderful. As oft as they dined with the emperor, he ſent for them in the morning, and invited them with his own mouth. *On Chriſtmas day being invited, they had for other proviſion as before, but for ſtore of gold and ſilver plate exceſſive; among which were twelve barrels of ſilver, hooped with fine gold, containing twelve gallons apiece.

In the year fifteen hundred and ſixty was the firſt Engliſh traffic to the Narve in Livonia, till then concealed by Danſkers and Lubeckers.

Fifteen hundred and ſixty one. The ſame Anthony Jenkinſon made another voyage to Moſco; and arrived while the emperor was celebrating his marriage with a Circaſſian lady; during which time the city gates for three days were kept ſhut; and all men whatſoever ſtraitly commanded to keep within their houſes; except ſome of his houſehold; the cauſe whereof is not known.

Fifteen hundred and ſixty ſix. He made again the ſame voyage †; which now men uſually made in a month from London to St. Nicholas with good winds, being ſeven hundred and fifty leagues.

Fifteen hundred and ſixty eight. Thomas Randolf, eſq. went embaſſador to Muſcovy §, from queen Elizabeth; and in his paſſage by ſea met nothing remarkable ſave great ſtore of whales, whom they might ſee engendering together, and the ſpermaceti ſwimming on the water. At Colmogro he was met by a gentleman from

* Hac. 317. † Ibid. 311. § Ibid. 373.

the emperor, at whoſe charge he was conducted to Moſco: but met there by no man; not ſo much as the Engliſh; lodged in a fair houſe built for embaſſadors; but there confined upon ſome ſuſpicion which the emperor had conceived; ſent for at length after ſeventeen weeks delay, was fain to ride thither on a borrowed horſe, his men on foot. In a chamber before the preſence were ſitting about three hundred perſons, all in rich robes taken out of the emperor's wardrobe for that day; they ſat on three ranks of benches, rather for ſhow than that the perſons were of honour; being merchants, and other mean inhabitants. The embaſſador ſaluted them, but by them unſaluted paſſed on with his head covered. At the preſence door being received by two which had been his guardians, and brought into the midſt, he was there willed to ſtand ſtill, and ſpeak his meſſage from the queen; at whoſe name the emperor ſtood up, and demanded her health: then giving the embaſſador his hand to kiſs, fell to many queſtions. The preſent being delivered, which was a great ſilver bowl curiouſly graven, the emperor told him, he dined not that day openly becauſe of great affairs; but, ſaith he, I will ſend thee my dinner, and augment thy allowance. And ſo diſmiſſing him, ſent a duke richly apparelled ſoon after to his lodging, with fifty perſons, each of them carrying meat in ſilver diſhes covered; which himſelf delivered into the embaſſador's own hands, taſting firſt of every diſh, and every ſort of drink; that done ſet him down with his company, took part, and went not thence unrewarded. The emperor ſent back with this embaſſador another of his own called Andrew Savin.

Fifteen hundred and ſeventy one. Jenkinſon made a third voyage; but was ſtaid long at Colmogro by reaſon of the plague in thoſe parts; at length had audience where the court then was, near to Pereſlave; to which place the emperor was returned from his Swediſh war with ill ſucceſs: and Moſco the ſame year had been wholly burnt by the Crim: in it the Engliſh houſe, and diverſe Engliſh were ſmothered in the cellars, multitudes of people in the city periſhed, all that were young led captive with exceeding ſpoil.

Fifteen

Fifteen hundred and eighty three. * Juan Baſiliwich having the year before ſent his embaſſador Pheodor Andrewich about matters of commerce, the queen made choice of Sir Jerom Bowes, one of her houſehold, to go into Ruſſia; who being attended with more than forty perſons, and accompanied with the Ruſſe returning home, arrived at St. Nicholas. The Dutch by this time had intruded into the Muſcovy trade, which by privilege long before had been granted ſolely to the Engliſh; and had corrupted to their ſide Shalkan the chancellor, with others of the great ones; who ſo wrought, that a creature of their own was ſent to meet Sir Jerom at Colmogro, and to offer him occaſions of diſlike: until at Vologda he was received by another from the emperor; and at Heraſlave by a duke well accompanied, who preſented him with a coach and ten geldings. Two miles from Moſco met him four gentlemen with two hundred horſe, who, after ſhort ſalutation, told him what they had to ſay from the emperor, willing him to alight, which the embaſſador ſoon refuſed, unleſs they alſo lighted; whereon they ſtood long debating; at length agreed, great diſpute followed, whoſe foot ſhould firſt touch the ground. Their meſſage delivered, and then embracing, they conducted the embaſſador to a houſe at Moſco, built for him purpoſely. At his going to court, he and his followers honourably mounted and apparelled, the emperor's guard were ſet on either ſide all the way about ſix thouſand ſhot. At the court gate met him four noblemen in cloth of gold, and rich fur caps, embroidered with pearl and ſtone; then four others of greater degree, in which paſſage there ſtood along the walls, and ſat on benches, ſeven or eight hundred men in coloured ſatins and gold. At the preſence door met him the chief herald, and with him all the great officers of court, who brought him where the emperor ſat: there were ſet by him three crowns of Muſcovy, Cazan, and Aſtracan; on each ſide ſtood two young noblemen, coſtly apparelled in white, each of them had a broad axe on his ſhoulder; on the benches

* Hac. vol. 1, 458.

round ſat above an hundred noblemen. Having given the embaſſador his hand to kiſs, and inquired of the queen's health, he willed him to go ſit in the place provided for him, nigh ten paces diſtant; from thence to ſend him the queen's letters and preſent. Which the embaſſador thinking not reaſonable ſtepped forward; but the chancellor meeting him, would have taken his letters; to whom the embaſſador ſaid, that the queen had directed no letters to him; and ſo went on and delivered them to the emperor's own hands; and after a ſhort withdrawing into the council-chamber, where he had conference with ſome of the council, he was called in to dinner: about the midſt whereof, the emperor ſtanding up, drank a deep carouſe to the queen's health, and ſent to the embaſſador a great bowl of Rheniſh wine to pledge him. But at ſeveral times being called for to treat about affairs, and not yielding aught beyond his commiſſion, the emperor, not wont to be gainſaid, one day eſpecially broke into paſſion, and with a ſtern countenance told him, he did not reckon the queen to be his fellow; for there are, quoth he, her betters. The embaſſador not holding it his part, whatever danger might enſue, to hear any derogate from the majeſty of his prince, with like courage and countenance told him, that the queen was equal to any in chriſtendom, who thought himſelf greateſt; and wanted not means to offend her enemies whomſoever. Yea, quoth he, what ſayeſt thou of the French and Spaniſh kings? I hold her, quoth the embaſſador, equal to either. Then what to the German emperor? Her father, quoth he, had the emperor in his pay. This anſwer miſliked the duke ſo far, as that he told him, were he not an embaſſador, he would throw him out of doors. You may, ſaid the embaſſador, do your will, for I am now faſt in your country; but the queen, I doubt not, will know how to be revenged of any injury offered to her embaſſador. Whereat the emperor in great ſudden bid him get home; and he with no more reverence than ſuch uſage required, ſaluted the emperor, and went his way. Notwithſtanding this, the Muſcovite, ſoon as his mood left him, ſpake to them that ſtood by many praiſes of the

the embaſſador, wiſhing he had ſuch a ſervant, and preſently after ſent his chief ſecretary to tell him, that whatever had paſſed in words, yet for his great reſpect to the queen, he would ſhortly after diſpatch him with honour and full contentment, and in the mean while he much enlarged his entertainment. He alſo deſired, that the points of our religion might be ſet down, and cauſed them to be read to his nobility with much approbation. And as the year before he had ſought in marriage the lady Mary Haſtings, which took not effect, the lady and her friends excuſing it, he now again renewed the motion to take to wife ſome one of the queen's kinſwomen, either by ſending an embaſſage, or going himſelf with his treaſure into England. Now happy was that nobleman, whom Sir Jerom Bowes in public favoured; unhappy they who had oppoſed him: for the emperor had beaten Shalkan the chancellor very grievouſly for that cauſe, and threatened, not to leave one of his race alive. But the emperor dying ſoon after of a ſurfeit, Shalkan, to whom then almoſt the whole government was committed, cauſed the embaſſador to remain cloſe priſoner in his houſe nine weeks. Being ſent for at length to have his diſpatch, and ſlightly enough conducted to the council-chamber, he was told by Shalkan, that this emperor would condeſcend to no other agreements than were between his father and the queen before his coming: and ſo diſarming both him and his company, brought them to the emperor with many affronts in their paſſage, for which there was no help but patience. The emperor, ſaying but over what the chancellor had ſaid before, offered him a letter for the queen: which the embaſſador, knowing it contained nothing to the purpoſe of his embaſſy, refuſed, till he ſaw his danger grow too great; nor was he ſuffered to reply, or have his interpreter. Shalkan ſent him word, that now the Engliſh emperor was dead; and haſtened his departure, but with ſo many diſgraces put upon him, as made him fear ſome miſchief in his journey to the ſea; having only one mean gentleman ſent with him to be his convoy; he commanded the Engliſh merchants in the queen's name to accompany him, but ſuch

was his danger, that they durſt not. So arming himſelf and his followers in the beſt wiſe he could, againſt any outrage, he at length recovered the ſhore of St. Nicholas. Where he now reſolved to ſend them back by his conduct ſome of the affronts which he had received. Ready therefore to take ſhip, he cauſes three or four of his valianteſt and diſcreeteſt men to take the emperor's letter, and diſgraceful preſent, and to deliver it, or leave it at the lodging of his convoy, which they ſafely did; though followed with a great tumult of ſuch as would have forced them to take it back.

Fifteen hundred and eighty four. At the coronation of Pheodor the emperor. Jerom Horſey being then agent in Ruſſia, and called for to court with one John de Wale, a merchant of the Netherlands and a ſubject of Spain, ſome of the nobles would have preferred the Fleming before the Engliſh. But to that our agent would in no caſe agree, ſaying he would rather have his legs cut off by the knees, than bring his preſent in courſe after a ſubject of Spain. The emperor and prince Boris perceiving the controverſy, gave order to admit Horſey firſt: who was diſmiſſed with large promiſes, and ſeventy meſſes with three carts of ſeveral meath ſent after him.

Fifteen hundred and eighty eight. Dr. Giles Fletcher went embaſſador from the queen to Pheodor then emperor; whoſe relations being judicious and exact are beſt read entirely by themſelves. * This emperor, upon report of the great learning of John Dee the mathematician, invited him to Moſco, with offer of two thouſand pounds a year, and from prince Boris one thouſand marks; to have his proviſion from the emperor's table, to be honourably received, and accounted as one of the chief men in the land. All which Dee accepted not.

One thouſand ſix hundred and four. Sir Thomas Smith was ſent embaſſador from king James to Boris then emperor; and ſtaid ſome days at a place five miles from Moſco, till he was honourably received into the city;

* Hack. 508.

met

met on horſeback by many thouſands of gentlemen and nobles on both ſides the way; where the embaſſador alighting from his coach, and mounted on his horſe, rode with his trumpets ſounding before him; till a gentleman of the emperor's ſtable brought him a gennet gorgeouſly trapped with gold, pearl, and ſtone, eſpecially with a great chain of plated gold about his neck, and horſes richly adorned for his followers. Then came three great noblemen with an interpreter offering a ſpeech; but the embaſſador deeming it to be ceremony, with a brief compliment found means to put it by. Thus alighting all, they ſaluted, and gave hands mutually. Thoſe three, after a tedious preamble of the emperor's title thrice repeated, brought a ſeveral compliment of three words apiece, as namely, the firſt, To know how the king did; the next, how the embaſſador; the third, that there was a fair houſe provided him. Then on they went on either hand of the embaſſador, and about ſix thouſand gallants behind them; ſtill met within the city by more of greater quality to the very gate of his lodging: where fifty gunners were his daily guard both at home and abroad. The preſtaves, or gentlemen aſſigned to have the care of his entertainment, were earneſt to have had the embaſſador's ſpeech and meſſage given them in writing, that the interpreter, as they pretended, might the better tranſlate it; but he admoniſhed them of their fooliſh demand. On the day of his audience, other gennets were ſent him and his attendants to ride on, and two white palfreys to draw a rich chariot, which was parcel of the preſent; the reſt whereof was carried by his followers through a lane of the emperor's guard: many meſſengers poſting up and down the while, till they came through the great caſtle, to the uttermoſt court gate. There met by a great duke, they were brought up ſtairs through a ſtone gallery, where ſtood on each hand many in fair coats of Perſian ſtuff, velvet and damaſk. The embaſſador by two other counſellors being led into the preſence, after his obeiſance done, was to ſtay and hear again the long title repeated; then the particular preſents; and ſo delivered as much of his embaſſage as was then requiſite. After

which the emperor, ariſing from his throne, demanded of the king's health; ſo did the young prince. The embaſſador then delivered his letters into the emperor's own hand, though the chancellor offered to have taken them. He bore the majeſty of a mighty emperor; his crown and ſceptre of pure gold, a collar of pearls about his neck, his garment of crimſon velvet embroidered with precious ſtone and gold. On his right ſide ſtood a fair globe of beaten gold on a pyramis with a croſs upon it; to which, before he ſpake, turning a little he croſſed himſelf. Not much leſs in ſplendour on another throne ſate the prince. By the emperor ſtood two noblemen in cloth of ſilver, high caps of black fur, and chains of gold hanging to their feet; on their ſhoulders two poleaxes of gold; and two of ſilver by the prince; the ground was all covered with arras or tapeſtry. Diſmiſſed, and brought in again to dinner, they ſaw the emperor and his ſon ſeated in ſtate, ready to dine; each with a ſkull of pearl on their bare heads, their veſtments changed. In the midſt of this hall ſeemed to ſtand a pillar heaped round to a great height with maſſy plate curiouſly wrought with beaſts, fiſhes, and fowl. The emperor's table was ſerved with two hundred noblemen in coats of gold; the prince's table with young dukes of Caſan, Aſtracan, Siberia, Tartaria, and Circaſſia. The emperor ſent from his table to the embaſſador thirty diſhes of meat, to each a loaf of extraordinary fine bread. Then followed a number more of ſtrange and rare diſhes piled up by half dozens, with boiled, roaſt, and baked, moſt part of them beſauced with garlic and onions. In midſt of dinner calling the embaſſador up to him he drank the king's health, who receiving it from his hand, returned to his place, and in the ſame cup, being of fair chryſtal, pledged it with all his company. After dinner they were called up to drink of excellent and ſtrong meath from the emperor's hand; of which when many did but ſip, he urged it not; ſaying he was beſt pleaſed with what was moſt for their health. Yet after that, the ſame day he ſent a great and glorious duke, one of them that held the golden poleaxe, with his retinue, and ſundry ſorts of meath, to drink merrily with the embaſſador, which

which ſome of the Engliſh did, until the duke and his followers, lightheaded, but well rewarded with thirty yards of cloth of gold, and two ſtanding cups, departed. At ſecond audience the embaſſador had like reception as before: and being diſmiſſed, had dinner ſent after him with three hundred ſeveral diſhes of fiſh, it being Lent, of ſuch ſtraugeneſs, greatneſs, and goodneſs, as ſcarce would be credible to report. The embaſſador departing was brought a mile out of the city with like honour as he was firſt met; where lighting from the emperor's ſled, he took him to his coach, made faſt upon a ſled; the reſt to their ſleds, an eaſy and pleaſant paſſage.

Names of the Authors from whence theſe Relations have been taken; being all either Eyewitneſſes, or immediate Relaters from ſuch as were.

THE journal of Sir Hugh Willoughby.
Diſcourſe of Richard Chancelor.
Another of Clement Adams, taken from the mouth of Chancelor.
Notes of Richard Johnſon, ſervant to Chancelor.
The Protonotaries Regiſter.
Two Letters of Mr. Hen. Lane.
Several voyages of Jenkinſon.
Southam and Sparks.
The journal of Randolf the embaſſador.
Another of Sir Jerom Bowes.
The coronation of Pheodor, written by Jerom Horſey.
Gourdon of Hull's voyage to Pechora.
The voyage of William Purſglove to Pechora.
Of Joſias Logan.
Heſſel Gerardus, out of Purchas, part 3, l. 3.
Ruſſian relations in Purch. 797. ibid. 806. ibid.
The embaſſage of Sir Thomas Smith.
Papers of Mr. Hackluit.
Janſonius.

A

DECLARATION,

OR,

LETTERS PATENTS

For the Election of this preſent

King of POLAND JOHN the Third,

Elected on the 22d of May laſt paſt, Anno Dom. 1674.

CONTAINING

The Reaſons of this Election, the great Virtues and Merits of the ſaid Serene Elect, his eminent ſervices in war, eſpecially in his laſt great victory againſt the Turks and Tartars, whereof many particulars are here related, not publiſhed before.

Now faithfully tranſlated from the Latin Copy.

In the name of the moſt Holy and Individual Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

WE Andrew Trezebicki, biſhop of Cracovia, duke of Severia, John Gembicki of Uladiſlau and Pomerania, &c.; biſhops to the number of ten.

Staniſlaus Warſzycki, Caſtellan of Cracovia; Alexander Michael Lubomirſki of Cracovia, &c.; palatines to the number of twenty three.

Chriſtopherus Grzymaltouſki of Poſnania, Alexander Gratus de Tarnow of Sandimer; Caſtellans to the number of twenty four.

Hiraleus Polubinſki, high marſhal of the great dukedom of Lithuania, Chriſtopherus Pac, high chanceſſor of the great dukedom of Lithuania, ſenators and great officers, to the number of ſeventy five.

WE

WE declare by theſe our preſent letters unto all and ſingle perſons whom it may concern: our commonwealth, being again left widowed by the unſeaſonable death of that famous Michael late king of Poland, who, having ſcarce reigned full five years, on the tenth day of November, of the year laſt paſt, at Leopolis, changed his fading crown for one immortal; in the ſenſe of ſo mournful a funeral and freſh calamity, yet with undaunted courage, mindful of herſelf in the midſt of dangers, forebore not to ſeek remedies, that the world may underſtand ſhe grows in the midſt of her loſſes; it pleaſed her to begin her counſels of preſerving her country, and delivering it from the utmoſt chances of an interreign, from the divine deity, (as it were by the only motion of whoſe finger, it is eaſy that kingdoms be transferred from nation to nation, and kings from the loweſt ſtate to thrones;) and therefore the buſineſs was begun according to our country laws, and anceſtors inſtitutions. After the convocation of all the ſtates of the kingdom ended, in the month of February, at Warſaw, by the common conſent of all thoſe ſtates, on the day decreed for the election the twentieth of April: at the report of this famous act, as though a trumpet had been ſounded, and a trophy of virtue erected, the wiſhes and deſires of foreign princes came forth of their own accord into the field of the Polonian liberty, in a famous ſtrife of merits and goodwill towards the commonwealth, every one bringing their ornaments, advantages, and gifts to the commonwealth: but the commonwealth becoming more diligent by the prodigal ambition uſed in the laſt interreign, and factions, and diſagreeings of minds, nor careleſs of the future, conſidered with herſelf whether firm or doubtful things were promiſed, and whether ſhe ſhould ſeem from the preſent ſtate to transfer both the old and new honours of Poland into the poſſeſſion of ſtrangers, or the military glory, and their late unheard of victory over the Turks, and blood ſpilt in the war, upon the purple of ſome unwarlike prince; as if any one could ſo ſoon put on the love of the country, and that Poland was not ſo much an enemy to her own nation and fame, as to favour ſtrangers more than her own

own; and valour being found in her, ſhould ſuffer a gueſt of new power to wax proud in her: therefore ſhe thenceforth turned her thoughts upon ſome one in her own nation, and at length aboliſhed (as ſhe began in the former election) that reproach caſt upon her, under pretence of a ſecret maxim, "That none can be elected king of Poland, but ſuch as are born out of Poland;" neither did ſhe ſeek long among her citizens whom ſhe ſhould prefer above the reſt (for this was no uncertain or ſuſpended election, there was no place for delay;) for although in the equality of our nobles many might be elected, yet the virtue of a hero appeared above his equals: therefore the eyes and minds of all men were willingly, and by a certain divine inſtinct, turned upon the high marſhal of the kingdom, captain of the army, John Sobieſki. The admirable virtue of the man, the high power of marſhal in the court, with his ſupreme command in arms, ſenatorial honour, with his civil modeſty, the extraordinary ſplendour of his birth and fortune, with open courteſy, piety towards God, love to his fellow-citizens in words and deeds; conſtancy, faithfulneſs and clemency towards his very enemies, and what noble things ſoever can be ſaid of a hero, did lay ſuch golden chains on the minds and tongues of all, that the ſenate and people of Poland and of the great dukedom of Lithuania, with ſuffrages and agreeing voices named and choſe him their King; not with his ſeeking, or precipitate counſel, but with mature deliberations continued and extended till the third day.

Certainly it conduced much for the honour of the moſt ſerene elect, the confirmation of a free election, and the eternal praiſe of the people electing, that the great buſineſs of an age was not tranſacted in one day, or in the ſhadow of the night, or by one caſual heat: for it was not right that a hero of the age ſhould in a moment of time (and as it were by the caſt of a die) be made a king, whenas antiquity by an ancient proverb has delivered, "that Hercules was not begot in one night;" and it hath taught, that election ſhould ſhine openly under a clear ſky, in the open light.

The moſt ſerene elect took it modeſtly, that his nomination

mination ſhould be deferred till the third day, plainly ſhowing to endeavour, leſt his ſudden facility of aſſent being ſuſpected, might detract from their judgment, and the world might be enforced to believe by a more certain argument, that he that was ſo choſen was elected without his own ambition, or the envy of corrupted liberty; or was it by the appointed counſel of God, that this debate continued three whole days, from Saturday till Monday, as if the Cotimian victory (begun on the Saturday, and at length on the third day after accompliſhed, after the taking of the Cotimian caſtle) had been a lucky preſage of his royal reward; or, as if with an auſpicious omen, the third day of election had alluded to the regal name of JOHN the Third.

The famous glory of war paved his way to the crown, and confirmed the favour of ſuffrages to his moſt ſerene elect. He the firſt of all the Polonians ſhowed that the Scythian ſwiftneſs (troubleſome heretofore to all the monarchies in the world) might be repreſſed by a ſtanding fight, and the terrible main battalion of the Turk might be broken and routed at one ſtroke. That we may paſs by in ſilence the ancient rudiments of warfare, which he ſtoutly and glorioufly managed under the conduct and authority of another, againſt the Swedes, Moſcovites, Boruſſians, Tranſylvanians, and Coſſacks: though about ſixty cities taken by him from the Coſſacks be leſs noiſed in the mouth of fame; yet theſe often and proſperous battles were a prelude to greateſt victories in the memory of man. Myriads of Tartars had overrun within this ſix years with their plundering troops the coaſt of Podolia, when a ſmall force and ſome ſhattered legions were not ſufficient againſt the hoſtile aſſault, yet our general knowing not how to yield, ſhut himſelf up (by a new ſtratagem of war) in Podhajecy, a ſtrait caſtle, and fortified in haſte, whereby he might exclude the cruel deſtruction, which was haſtening into the bowels of the kingdom; by which means the Barbarian, deluded and routed, took conditions of peace; as if he had made his inroad for this only purpoſe, that he might bring to the moſt ſerene elect matter of glory, victory.

For

For theſe four laſt years the famous victories of Sobietſki have ſignalized every year of his warlike command on the Coſſacks and Tartarians both joined together; the moſt ſtrong province of Braclavia, as far as it lies between Hypanis and Tyral, with their cities and warlike people, were won from the Coſſack enemy.

And thoſe things are beyond belief, which two years ago the moſt ſerene elect, after the taking of Camenick (being undaunted by the ſiege of Laopolis) performed to a miracle by the hardneſs and fortitude of the Polonian army, ſcarce conſiſting of three thouſand men, in the continual courſe of five days and nights, ſuſtaining life without any food, except wild herbs; ſetting upon the Tartarians, he made famous the names of Narulum, Niemicrovia, Konarnum, Kaluſſia, obſcure towns before, by a great overthrow of the Barbarians. He ſlew three ſultans of the Crim Tartars, deſcended of the royal Gietian family, and ſo trampled on that great force of the Scythians, that in theſe later years they could not regain their courage, nor recollect their forces. But the felicity of this laſt autumn exceeded all his victories; whenas the fortifications at Chocimum, famous of old, were poſſeſſed and fortified by above forty thouſand Turks, in which three and forty years ago the Polonians had ſuſtained and repreſſed the forces of the Ottoman family, drawn together out of Aſia, Africa, and Europe, fell to the ground within a few hours, by the only (under God) imperatorious valour and prudence of Sobietſki; for he counted it his chief part to go about the watches, order the ſtations, and perſonally to inſpect the preparations of warlike ordnance, to encourage the ſoldiers with voice, hands, and countenance, wearied with hunger, badneſs of weather, and three days ſtanding in arms; and he (which is moſt to be admired) on foot at the head of the foot forces, made through, and forced his way to the battery, hazarding his life devoted to God and his country; and thereupon made a cruel ſlaughter within the camp and fortifications of the enemy; while the deſperation of the Turks whetted their valour, and he performed the part of a moſt provident and valiant captain: at which time three

three baſhaws were ſlain, the fourth ſcarce paſſed with difficulty the ſwift river of Tyras; eight thouſand janizaries, twenty thouſand choſen ſpachies, beſides the more common ſoldiers, were cut off; the whole camp with all their ammunition and great ordnance, beſides the Aſſyrian and Phrygian wealth of luxurious Aſia, were taken and pillaged; the famous caſtle of Cotimia, and the bridge over Tyras, ſtrong fortreſſes, equal to caſtles on each ſide the river, were additions to the victory. Why therefore ſhould not ſuch renowned heroic valour be crowned with the legal reward of a diadem? All chriſtendom have gone before us in example, which, being arrived to the recovery of Jeruſalem under the conduct of Godfrey of Bulloin, on their own accord gave him that kingdom, for that he firſt ſcaled the walls of that city. Our moſt ſerene elect is not inferiour, for he firſt aſcended two main fortreſſes of the enemy.

The moment of time adorns this victory unheard of in many ages, the moſt ſerene king Michael dying the day before, as it were ſignifying thereby that he gave way to ſo great valour, as if it were by his command and favour, that this conqueror might ſo much the more gloriouſly ſucceed from the helmet to the crown, from the commander's ſtaff to the ſceptre, from his lying in the field to the regal throne.

The commonwealth recalled the grateful and never to be forgotten memory of his renowned father, the moſt illuſtrious and excellent James Sobietſki, caſtellan of Cracovia, a man to be written of with ſedulous care; who by his golden eloquence in the public councils, and by his hand in the ſcene of war, had ſo often amplified the ſtate of the commonwealth, and defended it with the arms of his family. Neither can we believe it happened without divine providence, that in the ſame place wherein forty years ago his renowned father, embaſſador of the Polonian commonwealth, had made peace and covenants with Cimanus the Turkiſh general, his great ſon ſhould revenge with his ſword the peace broke, Heaven itſelf upbraiding the perfidious enemy. The reſt of his grandfires and great grandfires, and innumerable names of famous ſenators and great officers, have

have as it were brought forth light to the ſerene elect by the emulous greatneſs and glory of his mother's deſcent, eſpecially Staniſlaus Zelkievius, high chancellor of the kingdom, and general of the army, at whoſe grave in the neighbouring fields, in which by the Turkiſh rage in the year ſixteen hundred and twenty he died, his victorious nephew took full revenge by ſo remarkable an overthrow of the enemy: the immortal valour and fatal fall of his moſt noble uncle Staniſlaus Danilovitius in the year ſixteen hundred and thirty five, palatine of Ruſſia, doubled the glory of his anceſtors; whom deſirous of honour, and not enduring the ſluggiſh peace wherein Poland then ſlept ſecure, valour and youthful heat accited at his own expenſe and private forces into the Tauric fields; that by his footing, and the ancient warlike Polonian diſcipline, he might lead and point the way to theſe merits of Sobietſki, and being ſlain by Cantimiz the Tartarian Cham, in revenge of his ſon by him ſlain, he might by his noble blood give luſtre to this regal purple. Neither hath the people of Poland forgot the moſt illuſtrious Marcus Sobietſki, elder brother of our moſt ſerene elect, who, when the Polonian army at Batto was routed by the Barbarians, although occaſion was offered him of eſcape, yet choſe rather to die in the overthrow of ſuch valiant men, a ſacrifice for his country, than to buy his life with a diſhonourable retreat; perhaps the divine judgment ſo diſpoſing, whoſe order is, that perſons paſs away and fail, and cauſes and events happen again the ſame; that by the repeated fate of the Huniades, the elder brother, of great hopes, removed by a lamented ſlaughter, might leave to his younger brother ſurviving the readier paſſage to the throne. That therefore which we pray may be happy, auſpicious, and fortunate to our othodox commonwealth, and to all chriſtendom, with free and unanimous votes, none oppoſing, all conſenting and applauding, by the right of our free election, notwithſtanding the abſence of thoſe which have been called and not appeared; We being led by no private reſpect, but having only before our eyes the glory of God, the increaſe of the ancient catholic church, the ſafety of the

commonwealth, and the dignity of the Poliſh nation and name, have thought fit to elect, create, and name, JOHN in Zolkiew and Zloczew Sobietſki, ſupreme marſhal general of the kingdom, general of the armies, governor of Neva, Bara, Strya, Loporovient, and Kaluſſien, moſt eminently adorned with ſo high endowments, merits and ſplendour, to be KING of Poland, grand duke of Lithuania, Ruſſia, Pruſſia, Mazovia, Samogitia, Kyovia, Volhinia, Padlachia, Podolia, Livonia, Smolenſko, Severia, and Czerniechovia, as we have elected, created, declared, and named him: I the aforeſaid biſhop of Cracovia (the archiepiſcopal ſee being vacant) exerciſing the office and authority of primate, and by conſent of all the ſtates, thrice demanded, oppoſed by none, by all and every one approved, conclude the election; promiſing faithfully, that we will always perform to the ſame moſt ſerene and potent elect prince, lord JOHN the Third, our king, the ſame faith, ſubjection, obedience, and loyalty, according to our rights and liberties, as we have performed to his bleſſed anceſtor, as alſo that we will crown the ſame moſt ſerene elect in the next aſſembly at Cracovia, to that end ordained, as our true king and lord, with the regal diadem, with which the kings of Poland were wont to be crowned; and after the manner which the Roman catholic church beforetime hath obſerved in anointing and inaugurating kings, we will anoint and inaugurate him: yet ſo as he ſhall hold faſt and obſerve firſt of all the rights, immunities both eccleſiaſtical and ſecular, granted and given unto us by his anceſtor of bleſſed memory; as alſo theſe laws, which we ourſelves in the time of this preſent and former interreign, according to the right of our liberty, and better preſervation of the commonwealth, have eſtabliſhed. And if moreover the moſt ſerene elect will bind himſelf by an oath, to perform the conditions concluded with thoſe perſons ſent by his majeſty before the exhibition of this preſent decree of election, and will provide in beſt manner for the performance of them by his authentic lettters; which decree of election we, by divine aid deſirous to put in execution, do ſend by common conſent, to deliver it into the hand of the moſt ſerene elect, the moſt illuſ-

trious and reverend lord biſhop of Cracovia, together with ſome ſenators and chief officers, and the illuſtrious and magnificent Benedictus Sapieha, treaſurer of the court of the great dukedom of Lithuania, marſhal of the equeſtrian order; committing to them the ſame decree of intimating an oath, upon the aforeſaid premiſes, and receiving his ſubſcription; and at length to give and deliver the ſame decree into the hands of the ſaid elect, and to act and perform all other things which this affair requires; in aſſurance whereof the ſeals of the lords ſenators, and thoſe of the equeſtrian order deputed to ſign, are here affixed.

Given by the hands of the moſt illuſtrious and reverend father in Chriſt, the lord Andrew Olſzonſki, biſhop of Culma and Pomiſania, high chancellor of the kingdom, in the general ordinary aſſembly of the kingdom, and great dukedom of Lithuania, for the election of the new king. Warſaw, the twenty-ſecond day of May, in the year of our Lord ſixteen hundred and ſeventy-four.

In the preſence of Franciſcus Praſkmouſki, provoſt of Gueſna, abbot of Sieciethovia, chief ſecretary of the kingdom; Joannes Malachowſki, abbot of Mogila, referendary of the kingdom, &c.; with other great officers of the kingdom and clergy, to the number of fourſcore and two. And the reſt, very many great officers, captains, ſecretaries, courtiers, and inhabitants of the kingdom, and great dukedom of Lithuania, gathered together at Warſaw to the preſent aſſembly of the election of the kingdom and great dukedom of Lithuania.

Aſſiſtants at the ſolemn oath taken of his ſacred majeſty on the fifth day of the month of June, in the palace at Warſaw, after the letters patents delivered upon the covenants, and agreements, or capitulations, the moſt reverend and excellent lord Franciſco Bonviſi, archbiſhop of Theſſalonica, apoſtolic nuncio; count Chriſtopherus a Scaffgotſch, Cæcareus Tuſſanus de Forbin, de Jaſon, biſhop of Marſeilles in France, Joannes free-baron Hoverbec, from the marquis of Brandenburg, embaſſadors, and other envoys and miniſters of ſtate.

LETTERS OF STATE

TO MOST OF THE

Sovereign Princes and Republics of EUROPE,

During the Adminiſtration of the Commonwealth, and the Protectors OLIVER and RICHARD CROMWELL.

LETTERS written in the Name of the PARLIAMENT.

The Senate and People of ENGLAND, to the moſt noble Senate of the City of HAMBOROUGH.

FOR how long a ſeries of paſt years, and for what important reaſons, the friendſhip entered into by our anceſtors with your moſt noble city has continued to this day, we both willingly acknowledge, together with yourſelves; nor is it a thing diſpleaſing to us, frequently alſo to call to our remembrance. But as to what we underſtand by your letters dated the twenty-fifth of June, that ſome of our people deal not with that fidelity and probity, as they were wont to do in their trading and commerce among ye; we preſently referred it to the conſideration of certain perſons well ſkilled in thoſe matters, to the end they might make a more ſtrict inquiry into the frauds of the clothiers, and other artificers of the woollen manufacture. And we farther promiſe, to take ſuch effectual care, as to make you ſenſible of our unalterable intentions, to preſerve ſincerity and juſtice among ourſelves, as alſo never to neglect any good offices of our kindneſs, that may redound to the welfare of your commonwealth. On the other hand, there is ſomething likewiſe which we not only required, but which equity itſelf, and all the laws of God and man demand of yourſelves; that you will not only conſerve inviolable to the merchants of our nation their privileges, but by your authority and power defend and protect their lives and eſtates, as it becomes your city to do. Which as we moſt earneſtly deſired in

our former letters; ſo upon the repeated complaints of our merchants, that are daily made before us, we now more earneſtly ſolicit and requeſt it: they complaining, that their ſafety, and all that they have in the world, is again in great jeopardy among ye. For although they acknowledge themſelves to have reaped ſome benefit for a ſhort time of our former letters ſent you, and to have had ſome reſpite from the injuries of a ſort of profligate people; yet ſince the coming of the ſame Coc--m to your city (of whom we complained before) who pretends to be honoured with a ſort of embaſſy from ——, the ſon of the lately deceaſed king, they have been aſſaulted with all manner of ill language, threats, and naked ſwords of ruffians and homicides, and have wanted your accuſtomed protection and defence; inſomuch, that when two or three of the merchants, together with the preſident of the ſociety, were hurried away by ſurpriſe aboard a certain privateer, and that the reſt implored your aid, yet they could not obtain any aſſiſtance from you, till the merchants themſelves were forced to embody their own ſtrength, and reſcue from the hands of pirates the perſons ſeized on in that river, of which your city is the miſtreſs, not without extreme hazard of their lives. Nay, when they had fortunately brought them home again, and as it were by force of arms recovered them from an ignominious captivity, and carried the pirates themſelves into cuſtody; we are informed, that Coc--m was ſo audacious, as to demand the releaſe of the pirates, and that the merchants might be delivered priſoners into his hands. We therefore again, and again, beſeech and adjure you, if it be your intention, that contracts and leagues, and the very ancient commerce between both nations ſhould be preſerved (the thing which you deſire) that our people may be able to aſſure themſelves of ſome certain and firm ſupport and reliance upon your word, your prudence and authority; that you would lend them a favourable audience concerning theſe matters, and that you would inflict deſerved puniſhment as well upon Coc--m, and the reſt of his accomplices in that wicked act, as upon thoſe who lately aſſaulted the preacher, hitherto unpuniſhed,

or command them to depart your territories; nor that you would believe, that expelled and exiled Tarquins are to be preferred before the friendſhip, and the wealth, and power of our republic. For if you do not carefully provide to the contrary, but that the enemies of our republic ſhall preſume to think lawful the committing of any violences againſt us in your city, how unſafe, how ignominious the reſidence of our people there will be, do you conſider with yourſelves! Theſe things we recommend to your prudence and equity, yourſelves to the protection of Heaven.

Weſtminſter, Aug. 10, 1649.

To the Senate of HAMBOROUGH.

YOUR conſpicuous favour in the doubtful condition of our affairs is now the reaſon, that after victory and proſperous ſucceſs, we can no longer queſtion your good-will and friendly inclination towards us. As for our parts, the war being almoſt now determined, and our enemies every where vanquiſhed, we have deemed nothing more juſt, or more conducing to the firm eſtabliſhment of the republic, than that they who by our means (the Almighty being always our captain and conductor) have either recovered their liberty, or obtained their lives and fortunes, after the pernicious ravages of a civil war, of our free gift and grace, ſhould teſtify and pay in exchange to their magiſtrates allegiance and duty in a ſolemn manner, if need required: more eſpecially when ſo many turbulent and exaſperated perſons, more than once received into protection, will make no end, either at home or abroad, of acting perfidiouſly, and raiſing new diſturbances. To that purpoſe we took care, to enjoin a certain form of an oath, by which all who held any office in the commonwealth, or, being fortified with the protection of the law, enjoyed both ſafety, eaſe, and all other conveniencies of life, ſhould bind themſelves to obedience in words preſcribed. This we alſo thought proper to be ſent to all colonies abroad, or wherever elſe our people reſided for the convenience of trade; to the end that the fidelity

of thoſe, over whom we are ſet, might be proved and known to us, as it is but reaſonable and neceſſary. Which makes us wonder ſo much the more at what our merchants write from your city, that they are not permitted to execute our commands by ſome or other of your order and degree. Certainly what the moſt potent United Provinces of the Low Countries, moſt jealous of their power and their intereſts, never thought any way belonging to their inſpection, namely whether the Engliſh foreigners ſwore fidelity and allegiance to their magiſtrates at home, either in theſe or thoſe words, how that ſhould come to be ſo ſuſpected and troubleſome to your city, we muſt plainly acknowledge, that we do not underſtand. But this proceeding from the private inclinations or fears of ſome, whom certain vagabond Scots, expelled their country, are ſaid to have enforced by menaces, on purpoſe to deter our merchants from ſwearing fidelity to us, we impute not to your city. Moſt earneſtly therefore we intreat and conjure ye (for it is not now the intereſt of trade, but the honour of the republic itſelf that lies at ſtake) not to ſuffer any one among ye, who can have no reaſon to concern himſelf in this affair, to interpoſe his authority, whatever it be, with that ſupremacy which we challenge over our own ſubjects, not by the judgment and opinion of foreigners, but by the laws of our country; for who would not take it amiſs, if we ſhould forbid your Hamburghers, reſiding here, to ſwear fidelity to you, that are their magiſtrates at home? Farewel.

Jan. 4, 1649.

To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince, PHILIP the Fourth, King of SPAIN: the Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, Greeting.

WE ſend to your majeſty Anthony Aſcham, a perſon of integrity, learned, and deſcended of an ancient family, to treat of matters very advantageous, as we hope, as well to the Spaniſh, as to the Engliſh nation. Wherefore in friendly manner we deſire, that you would be pleaſed to grant, and order him a ſafe and honour-

able paſſage to your royal city, and the ſame in his return from thence, readily prepared to repay the kindneſs when occaſion offers. Or if your majeſty be otherwiſe inclined, that it may be ſignified to him with the ſooneſt, what your pleaſure is in this particular, and that he may be at liberty to depart without moleſtation.

Feb. 4, 1649.

To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince, PHILIP the Fourth, King of SPAIN: the Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, Greeting.

WHAT is the condition of our affairs, and by what heinous injuries provoked and broken, at length we began to think of recovering our liberty by force of arms; what conſtituted form of government we now make uſe of, can neither be concealed from your majeſty, nor any other perſon, who has but caſt an impartial eye upon our writings publiſhed on theſe occaſions. Neither ought we to think it a difficult thing, among fit and proper judges of things, to render our fidelity, our equity, and patience, manifeſt to all men, and juſtly meriting their approbation; as alſo to defend our authority, honour, and grandeur, againſt the infamous tongues of exiles and fugitives. Now then, as to what is more the concern of foreign nations, after having ſubdued and vanquiſhed the enemies of our country, through the miraculous aſſiſtance of Heaven, we openly and cordially profeſs ourſelves readily prepared to have peace and friendſhip, more deſirable than all enlargement of empire, with our neighbour nations. For theſe reaſons we have ſent into Spain, to your majeſty, Anthony Aſcham, of approved dexterity and probity, to treat with your majeſty concerning friendſhip, and the accuſtomed commerce between both nations; or elſe, if it be your pleaſure, to open a way for the ratifying of new articles and alliances. Our requeſt therefore is, that you will grant him free liberty of acceſs to your majeſty, and give ſuch order, that care may be taken of his ſafety and honour, while he reſides a public miniſter with your majeſty; to the end he may freely

propoſe what he has in charge from us, for the benefit, as we hope, of both nations; and certify to us with the ſooneſt, what are your majeſty's ſentiments concerning theſe matters.

Weſtminſter, Feb. 4, 1649.

To the moſt Serene Prince, JOHN the Fourth, King of PORTUGAL: the Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, Greeting.

AFTER we had ſuffered many, and thoſe the utmoſt miſchiefs of a faithleſs peace, and inteſtine war, our being reduced to thoſe exigencies, that if we had any regard to the ſafety of the republic, there was a neceſſity of altering for the chiefeſt part the form of government; is a thing which we make no queſtion is well known to your majeſty, by what we have both publicly written and declared in juſtification of our proceedings. To which, as it is but reaſon, if credit might be rather given than to the moſt malicious calumnies of looſe and wicked men; perhaps we ſhould find thoſe perſons more amicably inclined, who now abroad have the worſt ſentiments of our actions. For as to what we juſtify ourſelves to have juſtly and ſtrenuouſly performed after the example of our anceſtors, in purſuance of our rights, and for recovery of the native liberty of Engliſhmen, certainly it is not the work of human force or wit to eradicate the perverſe and obſtinate opinions of people wickedly inclined concerning what we have done. But after all, in reference to what is common to us with all foreign nations, and more for the general intereſt on both ſides, we are willing to let the world know, that there is nothing which we more ardently deſire, than that the friendſhip and commerce, which our people have been accuſtomed to maintain with all our neighbours, ſhould be enlarged and ſettled in the moſt ample and ſolemn manner. And whereas our people have always driven a very great trade, and gainful to both nations, in your kingdom; we ſhall take care, as much as in us lies, that they may not meet with any impediment to interrupt their dealings. However, we foreſee that all our induſtry will be in vain,

if,

if, as it is reported, the pirates and revolters of our nation ſhall be ſuffered to have refuge in your ports, and after they have taken and plundered the laden veſſels of the Engliſh, ſhall be permitted to ſell their goods by public outcries at Liſbon. To the end therefore that a more ſpeedy remedy may be applied to this growing miſchief, and that we may be more clearly ſatisfied concerning the peace which we deſire, we have ſent to your Majeſty the moſt noble Charles Vane, under the character of our agent, with inſtructions and a commiſſion, a plenary teſtimonial of the truſt we have repoſed, and the employment we have conferred upon him. Him therefore we moſt earneſtly deſire your majeſty graciouſly to hear, to give him credit, and to take ſuch order, that he may be ſafe in his perſon and his honour, within the bounds of your dominions. Theſe things, as they will be moſt acceptable to us, ſo we promiſe, whenever occaſion offers, that the ſame offices of kindneſs to your majeſty ſhall be mutually obſerved on all our parts.

Weſtminſter, Feb. 4, 1649.

To the moſt Serene Prince, JOHN the Fourth, King of PORTUGAL: the Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, Greeting.

ALMOST daily and moſt grievous complaints are brought before us, that certain of our ſeamen and officers, who revolted from us the laſt year, and treacherouſly and wickedly carried away the ſhips with the command of which they were entruſted, and who, having made their eſcape from the port of Ireland, where, being blocked up for almoſt a whole ſummer together, they very narrowly avoided the puniſhment due to their crimes, have now betaken themſelves to the coaſt of Portugal, and the mouth of the river Tagus; that there they practiſe furious piracy, taking and plundering all the Engliſh veſſels they meet with ſailing to and fro upon the account of trade; and that all the adjoining ſeas are become almoſt impaſſable, by reaſon of their notorious and infamous robberies. To which increaſing miſchief unleſs a ſpeedy remedy be applied, who does not ſee, but

but that there will be a final end of that vaſt trade ſo gainful to both nations, which our people were wont to drive with the Portugueſe? Wherefore we again and again requeſt your majeſty, that you would command thoſe pirates and revolters to depart the territories of Portugal: and that, if any pretended embaſſadors preſent themſelves from *******, that you will not vouchſafe to give them audience; but that you will rather acknowledge us, upon whom the ſupreme power of England, by the conſpicuous favour and aſſiſtance of the Almighty, is devolved; and that the ports and rivers of Portugal may not be barred and defended againſt your friends and confederates fleet, no leſs ſerviceable to your emolument than the trade of the Engliſh.

To the moſt Serene Prince LEOPOLD, Archduke of AUSTRIA, Governor of the SPANISH Low Countries, under King PHILIP.

SO ſoon as word was brought us, not without a moſt grievous complaint, that Jane Puckering, an heireſs of an illuſtrious and opulent family, while yet by reaſon of her age ſhe was under guardians, not far from the houſe wherein ſhe then lived at Greenwich, was violently forced from the hands and embraces of her attendants; and of a ſudden in a veſſel to that purpoſe ready prepared, carried off into Flanders by the treachery of one Walſh, who has endeavoured all the ways imaginable, in contempt of law both human and divine, to conſtrain a wealthy virgin to marriage, even by terrifying her with menaces of preſent death: We deeming it proper to apply ſome ſpeedy remedy to ſo enormous and unheard of piece of villany, gave orders to ſome perſons to treat with the governors of Newport and Oſtend (for the unfortunate captive was ſaid to be landed in one of thoſe two places) about reſcuing the freeborn lady out of the hands of the raviſher. Who, both out of their ſingular humanity and love of virtue, lent their aſſiſting aid to the young virgin in ſervitude, and by downright robbery rifled from her habitation: ſo that to avoid the violence of her imperious maſters, ſhe was as it were depoſited

poſited in a nunnery, and committed to the charge of the governeſs of the ſociety. Wherefore the ſame Walſh, to get her again into his clutches, has commenced a ſuit againſt her in the eccleſiaſtical court of the biſhop of Ypre, pretending a matrimonial contract between him and her. Now in regard that both the raviſher and the raviſhed perſon are natives of our country, as by the witneſſes upon their oaths abundantly appears; as alſo for that the ſplendid inheritance, after which moſt certainly the criminal chiefly gapes, lies within our territories; ſo that we conceive, that the whole cognizance and determination of this cauſe belongs ſolely to ourſelves: therefore let him repair hither, he who calls himſelf the huſband, here let him commence his ſuit, and demand the delivery of the perſon, whom he claims for his wife. In the mean time, this it is that we moſt earneſtly requeſt from your highneſs, which is no more than what we have already requeſted by our agent reſiding at Bruſſels, that you will permit an afflicted and many ways miſuſed virgin, born of honeſt parents, but pirated out of her native country, to return, as far as lies in your power, with freedom and ſafety home again. This not only we, upon all opportunities offered, as readily prepared to return the ſame favour and kindneſs to your highneſs, but alſo humanity itſelf, and that ſame hatred of infamy, which ought to accompany all perſons of virtue and courage in defending the honour of the female ſex, ſeem altogether jointly to require at your hands.

Weſtminſter, March 28, 1650.

To the moſt Serene Prince, JOHN the Fourth, King of PORTUGAL.

UNDERSTANDING that your majeſty had both honourably received our agent, and immediately given him a favourable audience, we thought it became us to aſſure your majeſty without delay, by ſpeedy letters from us, that nothing could happen more acceptable to us, and that there is nothing which we have decreed more ſacred, than not to violate by any word or deed of ours, not

not firſt provoked, the peace, the friendſhip, and commerce, now for ſome time ſettled between us and the greateſt number of other foreign nations, and among the reſt with the Portugueſe. Nor did we ſend the Engliſh fleet to the mouth of the river Tagus with any other intention or deſign, than in purſuit of enemies ſo often put to flight, and for recovery of our veſſels, which being carried away from their owners by force and treachery, the ſame rabble of fugitives conducted to your coaſts, and even to Liſbon itſelf, as to the moſt certain fairs for the ſale of their plunder. But we are apt to believe, that by this time almoſt all the Portugueſe are abundantly convinced, from the flagitious manners of thoſe people, of their audaciouſneſs, their fury, and their madneſs. Which is the reaſon we are in hopes, that we ſhall more eaſily obtain from your majeſty, firſt, that you will, as far as in you lies, be aſſiſtant to the moſt illuſtrious Edward Popham, whom we have made admiral of our new fleet, for the ſubduing thoſe deteſted freebooters; and that you will no longer ſuffer them, together with their captain, not gueſts, but pirates, not merchants, but the peſts of commerce, and violaters of the law of nations, to harbour in the ports and under the ſhelter of the fortreſſes of your kingdom; but that wherever the confines of Portugal extend themſelves, you will command them to be expelled as well by land as by ſea. Or if you are unwilling to proceed to that extremity, at leaſt that with your leave it may be lawful for us, with our proper forces to aſſail our own revolters and ſea robbers; and if it be the pleaſure of Heaven, to reduce them into our power. This, as we have earneſtly deſired in our former letters, ſo now again with the greateſt ardency and importunity we requeſt of your majeſty. By this, whether equity, or act of kindneſs, you will not only enlarge the fame of your juſtice over all well-governed and civil nations, but alſo in a greater meaſure bind both us and the people of England, who never yet had other than a good opinion of the Portugueſe, to yourſelf and to your ſubjects. Farewel.

Weſtminſter, April 27, 1650.

To the HAMBURGHERS.

MORE than once we have written concerning the controverſies of the merchants, and ſome other things which more nearly concern the dignity of our republic, yet no anſwer has been returned. But underſtanding that affairs of that nature can hardly be determined by letters only, and that in the mean time certain ſeditious perſons have been ſent to your city by *******, authorized with no other commiſſion than that of malice and audaciouſneſs, who make it their buſineſs utterly to extirpate the ancient trade of our people in your city, eſpecially of thoſe whoſe fidelity to their country is moſt conſpicuous; therefore we have commanded the worthy and moſt eminent Richard Bradſhaw, to reſide as our agent among ye; to the end he may be able more at large to treat and negotiate with your lordſhips ſuch matters and affairs, as are interwoven with the benefit and advantages of both republics. Him therefore we requeſt ye with the ſooneſt to admit to a favourable audience; and that in all things that credit may be given to him, that honour paid him, as is uſual in all countries, and among all nations paid to thoſe that bear his character.

Weſtminſter, April 2, 1650.

To the HAMBURGHERS.

Moſt Noble, Magnificent, and Illuſtrious,
our deareſt Friends;

THAT your ſedulities in the reception of our agent were ſo cordial and ſo egregious, we both gladly underſtand, and earneſtly exhort ye that you would perſevere in your goodwill and affection towards us. And this we do with ſo much the greater vehemence, as being informed, that the ſame exiles of ours, concerning whom we have ſo frequently written, now carry themſelves more inſolently in yout city than they were wont to do, and that they not only openly affront, but give out threatening

threatening language in a moſt deſpightful manner againſt our reſident. Therefore once more by theſe our letters we would have the ſafety of his perſon, and the honour due to his quality, recommended to your care. On the other ſide, if you inflict ſevere and timely puniſhment upon thoſe fugitives and ruffians, as well the old ones as the new-comers, it will be moſt acceptable to us, and becoming your authority and prudence.

Weſtminſter, May 31, 1650.

To PHILIP the Fourth, King of SPAIN.

TO our infinite ſorrow we are given to underſtand, that Anthony Aſcham, by us lately ſent our agent to your majeſty, and under that character moſt civilly and publicly received by your governors, upon his firſt coming to your royal city, naked of all defence and guard, was moſt bloodily murdered in a certain inn, together with John Baptiſta de Ripa his interpreter, butchered at the ſame time. Wherefore we moſt earneſtly requeſt your majeſty, that deſerved puniſhment may be ſpeedily inflicted upon thoſe parricides, already apprehended, as it is reported, and committed to cuſtody; who have not only preſumed to wound ourſelves through his ſides, but have alſo dared to ſtab, as it were, to the very heart, your faith of word and royal honour. So that we make no queſtion, but what we ſo ardently deſire would nevertheleſs be done effectually, by a prince of his own accord ſo juſt and pious, though nobody required it. As to what remains, we make it our farther ſuit, that the breathleſs carcaſs may be delivered to his friends and attendants to be brought back and interred in his own country, and that ſuch care may be taken for the ſecurity of thoſe that remain alive, as is but requiſite; till having obtained an anſwer to theſe letters, if it may be done, they ſhall return to us the witneſſes of your piety and juſtice.

Weſtminſter, June 28, 1650.

To PHILIP the Fourth, King of SPAIN.

HOW heinouſly, and with what deteſtation your majeſty reſented the villanous murder of our agent, Anthony Aſcham, and what has hitherto been done in the proſecution and puniſhment of his aſſaſſinates, we have been given to underſtand, as well by your majeſty's own letters, as from your embaſſador don Alphonſo de Cardenos. Nevertheleſs ſo often as we conſider the horridneſs of that bloody fact, which utterly ſubverts the very foundations of correſpondence and commerce, and of the privilege of embaſſadors, moſt ſacred among all nations, ſo villanouſly violated without ſeverity of puniſhment; we cannot but with utmoſt importunity repeat our moſt urgent ſuit to your majeſty, that thoſe parricides may with all the ſpeed imaginable be brought to juſtice, and that you would not ſuffer their merited pains to be ſuſpended any longer by any delay or pretence of religion. For though moſt certainly we highly value the friendſhip of a potent prince; yet it behoves us to uſe our utmoſt endeavours, that the authors of ſuch an enormous parricide ſhould receive the deſerved reward of their impiety. Indeed, we cannot but with a grateful mind acknowledge that civility, of which by your command our people were not unſenſible, as alſo your ſurpaſſing affection for us, which lately your embaſſador at large unfolded to us: nor will it be diſpleaſing to us, to return the ſame good offices to your majeſty, and the Spaniſh nation, whenever opportunity offers. Nevertheleſs, if juſtice be not ſatisfied without delay, which we ſtill moſt earneſtly requeſt, we ſee not upon what foundations a ſincere and laſting friendſhip can ſubſiſt. For the preſervation of which, however, we ſhall omit no juſt and laudable occaſion; to which purpoſe we are likewiſe apt to believe, that the preſence of your embaſſador does not a little conduce.

To the SPANISH Embaſſador.

Moſt Excellent Lord,

THE council of ſtate, ſo ſoon as their weighty affairs would permit them, having carried into parliament the four

four writings, which it pleaſed your Excellency to impart to the council upon the nineteenth of December laſt, have received in command from the parliament, to return this anſwer to the firſt head of thoſe writings, touching the villanous aſſaſſinates of their late agent, Anthony Aſcham.

The parliament have ſo long time, ſo often, and ſo juſtly demanded their being brought to deſerved puniſhment, that there needs nothing further to be ſaid on a thing of ſo great importance, wherein (as your excellency well obſerved) his royal majeſty's authority itſelf is ſo deeply concerned, that, unleſs juſtice be done upon ſuch notorious offenders, all the foundations of human ſociety, all the ways of preſerving friendſhip among nations, of neceſſity muſt be overturned and aboliſhed. Nor can we apprehend by any argument drawn from religion, that the blood of the innocent, ſhed by a propenſely malicious murder, is not to be avenged. The parliament therefore once more moſt urgently preſſes, and expects from his royal majeſty, according to their firſt demands, that ſatisfaction be given them effectually and ſincerely in this matter.

To the moſt Excellent Lord ANTHONY JOHN LEWIS DE LA CERDA, Duke of MEDINA CELI, Governor of ANDALUSIA: the Council of State conſtituted by Authority of Parliament, Greeting.

WE have received advice from thoſe moſt accompliſhed perſons, whom we lately ſent with our fleet into Portugal, in purſuit of traitors, and for the recovery of our veſſels, that they were moſt civilly received by your Excellency, as often as they happened to touch upon the coaſts of Gallæcia, which is under your government, and aſſiſted with all things neceſſary to thoſe that perform long voyages. This civility of yours, as it was always moſt acceptable to us, ſo it is now more eſpecially at this time, while we are ſenſible of the illwill of others in ſome places towards us without any juſt cauſe given on our ſide: therefore we make it our requeſt to your Illuſtrious Lordſhip, that you will perſevere in the ſame good-

will

will and affection to us, and that you would continue your favour and aſſiſtance to our people, according to your wonted civility, as often as our ſhips put in to your harbours: and be aſſured, that there is nothing which we deſire of your Lordſhip in the way of kindneſs, which we ſhall not be ready to repay both to you and yours, whenever the like occaſion ſhall be offered us.

Sealed with the ſeal of the council,

J. BRADSHAW, Preſident.

Weſtminſter, Nov. 7, 1650.

To the Illuſtrious and Magnificent Senate of the City of DANTZICK.

Magnificent and moſt Noble Lords,
our deareſt Friends;

MANY letters are brought us from our merchants trading upon the coaſt of Boruſſia, wherein they complain of a grievous tribute impoſed upon them in the grand council of the Polanders, enforcing them to pay the tenth part of all their goods for the relief of the king of Scots, our enemy. Which in regard it is plainly contrary to the law of nations, that gueſts and ſtrangers ſhould be dealt withal in ſuch a manner; and moſt unjuſt, that they ſhould be compelled to pay public ſtipends in a foreign commonwealth to him from whom they are, by God's aſſiſtance, delivered at home: we make no queſtion, but that out of reſpect to that liberty, which as we underſtand you yourſelves enjoy, you will not ſuffer ſo heavy a burden to be laid on merchants in your city, wherein they have maintained a continual amity and commerce, to the extraordinary advantage of the place for many years together. If therefore you think it convenient, to undertake the protection of our merchants trading among ye, which we aſſuredly expect as well from your prudence and equity, as from the dignity and grandeur of your city; we ſhall take that care, that you ſhall be ſenſible from time to time of our grateful

acceptance of your kindneſs, as often as the Dantzickers ſhall have any dealings within our territories, or their ſhips, as frequently it happens, put into our ports.

Weſtminſter, Febr. 6, 1650.

To the PORTUGAL Agent.

Moſt Illuſtrious Lord,

WE received your letters dated from Hampton the fifteenth of this month, wherein you ſignify, that you are ſent by the king of Portugal to the parliament of the commonwealth of England; but ſay not under what character, whether of embaſſador, or agent, or envoy, which we would willingly underſtand by your credential letters from the king, a copy of which you may ſend us with all the ſpeed you can. We would alſo further know, whether you come with a plenary commiſſion, to give us ſatisfaction for the injuries, and to make reparation for the damages which your king has done this republic, protecting our enemy all the laſt ſummer in his harbours, and prohibiting the Engliſh fleet, then ready to aſſail rebels and fugitives, which our admiral had purſued ſo far; but never reſtraining the enemy from falling upon ours. If you return us word, that you have ample and full commiſſion to give us ſatisfaction concerning all theſe matters, and ſend us withal a copy of your recommendatory letters, we ſhall then take care, that you may with all ſpeed repair to us upon the Public Faith: at which time, when we have read the king's letters, you ſhall have liberty freely to declare what further commands you have brought along with you.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the moſt Serene Prince, D. FERDINAND, Grand Duke of TUSCANY, &c.

WE have received your highneſs's letters, dated April twenty two, ſixteen hundred and fifty one, and delivered to us by your reſident, Signor Almeric Salvetti, wherein we readily perceive how greatly your highneſs favours the

the Engliſh name, and the value you have for this nation; which not only our merchants, that for many years have traded in your ports, but alſo certain of our young nobility, either travelling through your cities, or reſiding there for the improvement of their ſtudies, both teſtify and confirm. Which as they are things moſt grateful and acceptable to us, we alſo on our parts make this requeſt to your highneſs, that your Serenity will perſevere in your accuſtomed goodwill and affection towards our merchants, and other citizens of our republic, travelling through the Tuſcan territories. On the other ſide, we promiſe and undertake, as to what concerns the parliament, that nothing ſhall be wanting, which may any way conduce to the confirmation and eſtabliſhment of that commerce and mutual friendſhip, that now has been of long continuance between both nations, and which it is our earneſt wiſh and deſire ſhould be preſerved to perpetuity, by all offices of humanity, civility, and mutual obſervance.

Weſtminſter, Jan. 20, 1651.

Sealed with the ſeal of the parliament, and ſubſcribed by WILLIAM LENTHALL, ſpeaker of the parliament of the commonwealth of England.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the Illuſtrious and Magnificent Senate of the City of HAMBOROUGH.

Moſt Noble, Magnificent, and Illuſtrious, our deareſt Friends;

THE parliament of the commonwealth of England, out of their earneſt deſire to continue and preſerve the ancient friendſhip and mutual commerce between the Engliſh nation and your city, not long ſince ſent thither Richard Bradſhaw, eſq., with the character of our reſident; and among other inſtructions tending to the ſame purpoſe, gave him an expreſs charge to demand juſtice againſt certain perſons within your juriſdiction,

who endeavoured to murder the preacher belonging to the Engliſh ſociety, and who likewiſe laid impious hands upon the deputy preſident, and ſome of the principal merchants of the ſame company, and hurried them away aboard a privateer. And although the aforeſaid reſident, upon his firſt reception and audience, made known to your lordſhips in a particular manner the commands which he received from us; upon which it was expected, that you would have made thoſe criminals ere this a ſevere example of your juſtice: yet when we underſtood our expectations were not anſwered, conſidering with ourſelves what danger both our people, and their eſtates were in, if ſufficient proviſion were not made for their ſecurity and protection againſt the malice of their enemies, we again ſent orders to our aforeſaid reſident, to repreſent to your lordſhips our judgment upon the whole matter; as alſo to exhort and perſuade ye, in the name of this republic, to be careful of preſerving the friendſhip and alliance contracted between this commonwealth and your city, as alſo the traffic and commerce no leſs advantageous for the intereſt of both; and to that end, that you would not fail to protect our merchants, together with their privileges, from all violation, and more particularly againſt the inſolences of one Garmes, who has carried himſelf contumeliouſly toward this republic, and publicly cited to the Chamber of Spire certain merchants of the Engliſh company reſiding in your city, to the great contempt of this commonwealth, and trouble of our merchants; for which we expect ſuch reparation, as ſhall be conſentaneous to equity and juſtice.

To treat of theſe heads, and whatever elſe more largely belongs to the common friendſhip of both republics, we have ordered our reſident aforeſaid to attend your lordſhips, requeſting that ample credit may be given to him in ſuch matters, as he ſhall propoſe relating to theſe affairs.

Weſtminſter, March 12, 1651. Sealed with the parliament ſeal, and ſubſcribed, Speaker, &c.

The

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the moſt Serene CHRISTIANA, Queen of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS, &c., Greeting.

Moſt Serene Queen;

WE have received and read your majeſty's letters to the parliament of England, dated from Stockholm, the twenty ſixth of September laſt, and delivered by Peter Spering Silvercroon; and there is nothing which we more vehemently and cordially deſire, than that the ancient peace, traffic, and commerce of long continuance between the Engliſh and Swedes may prove diuturnal, and every day increaſe. Nor did we queſtion, but that your majeſty's embaſſador was come amply inſtructed to make thoſe propoſals chiefly, which ſhould be moſt for the intereſt and honour of both nations, and which we were no leſs readily prepared to have heard, and to have done effectually that which ſhould have been thought moſt ſecure and beneficial on both ſides. But it pleaſed the Supreme Moderator and Governor of all things, that before he had deſired to be heard as to thoſe matters, which he had in charge from your majeſty to propound to the parliament, he departed this life, (whoſe loſs we took with that heavineſs and ſorrow, as it became perſons whom it no leſs behoved to acquieſce in the will of the Almighty) whence it comes to paſs, that we are prevented hitherto from knowing your majeſty's pleaſure, and that there is a ſtop at preſent put to this negotiation. Wherefore we thought we could do no leſs than by theſe our letters, which we have given to our meſſenger on purpoſe ſent with theſe unhappy tidings, to ſignify to your majeſty, how acceptable your letters, how grateful your public miniſter were to the parliament of the commonwealth of England; as alſo how earneſtly we expect your friendſhip, and how highly we ſhall value the amity of ſo great a princeſs; aſſuring your majeſty, that we have thoſe thoughts of increaſing the commerce between this republic and your majeſty's kingdom, as we ought to have of a thing of the higheſt importance, which for that reaſon will be moſt acceptable to the parliament of

the commonwealth of England. And ſo we recommend your majeſty to the protection of the Divine Providence.

Weſtminſter, March —, 1651. Sealed with the parliament ſeal, and ſubſcribed, Speaker, &c.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the moſt Serene and Potent Prince, PHILIP the Fourth, King of SPAIN, Greeting.

THE merchants of this commonwealth, who trade in your majeſty's territories, make loud complaints of extraordinary violence and injuries offered them, and of new tributes impoſed upon them by the governors and other officers of your ports and places where they traffic, and particularly in the Canary iſlands, and this againſt the articles of the league ſolemnly ratified by both nations on the account of trade; the truth of which complaints they have confirmed by oath. And they make it out before us, that unleſs they can enjoy their privileges, and that their loſſes be repaired; laſtly, that except they may have ſome certain ſafeguard and protection for themſelves and their eſtates againſt thoſe violences and injuries, they can no longer traffic in thoſe places. Which complaints of theirs being duly weighed by us, and believing the unjuſt proceedings of thoſe miniſters either not at all to have reached your knowledge, or elſe to have been untruly repreſented to your majeſty, we deemed it convenient to ſend the complaints themſelves, together with theſe our letters, to your majeſty. Nor do we queſtion, but that your majeſty, as well out of your love of juſtice, as for the ſake of that commerce no leſs gainful to your ſubjects than our people, will command your governors to deſiſt from thoſe unjuſt oppreſſions of our merchants, and ſo order it, that they may obtain ſpeedy juſtice, and due ſatisfaction for thoſe injuries done them by don Pedro de Carillo de Guzman, and others; and that your majeſty will take care, that the merchants aforeſaid may reap the fruit of thoſe articles; and be ſo far under your protection, that both their perſons and their eſtates may be ſecure and free from

from all manner of injury and vexation. And this they believe they ſhall for the greateſt part obtain if your majeſty will be pleaſed to reſtore them that expedient, taken from them, of a judge-conſervator, who may be able to defend them from a new conſulſhip more uneaſy to them; leſt if no ſhelter from injuſtice be allowed them, there ſhould follow a neceſſity of breaking off that commerce, which has hitherto brought great advantages to both nations, while the articles of the league are violated in ſuch a manner.

Weſtm. Aug. —, 1651.

To the moſt Serene Prince, the Duke of VENICE, and the moſt Illuſtrious Senate.

Moſt Serene Prince, moſt Illuſtrious Senate, our deareſt Friends;

CERTAIN of our merchants, by name John Dickins, and Job Throckmorton, with others, have made their complaints to us, that upon the twenty-eighth of November, ſixteen hundred and fifty one, having ſeized upon a hundred butts of caviare in the veſſel called the Swallow, riding in the Downs, Iſaac Taylor maſter, which were their own proper goods, and laden aboard the ſame ſhip in the Muſcovite bay of Archangel, and this by the authority of our court of admiralty; in which court, the ſuit being there depending, they obtained a decree for the delivery of the ſaid butts of caviare into their poſſeſſion, they having firſt given ſecurity to abide by the ſentence of that court: and that the ſaid court, to the end the ſaid ſuit might be brought to a concluſion, having written letters, according to cuſtom, to the magiſtrates and judges of Venice; wherein they requeſted liberty to cite John Piatti to appear by his proctor in the Engliſh court of admiralty, where the ſuit depended, and prove his right: nevertheleſs, that the ſaid Piatti and one David Rutts a Hollander, while this cauſe depends here in our court, put the ſaid John Dickins, and thoſe other merchants, to a vaſt deal of trouble about the ſaid caviare,

and ſolicit the ſeizure of their goods and eſtates as forfeited for debt. All which things, and whatever elſe has hitherto been done in our foreſaid court is more at large ſet forth in thoſe letters of requeſt aforementioned; which after we had viewed, we thought proper to be tranſmitted to the moſt ſerene republic of Venice, to the end they might be aſſiſtant to our merchants in this cauſe. Upon the whole therefore, it is our earneſt requeſt to your highneſs, and the moſt illuſtrious ſenate, that not only thoſe letters may obtain their due force and weight; but alſo, that the goods and eſtates of the merchants, which the foreſaid Piatti and David Rutts have endeavoured to make liable to forfeiture, may be diſcharged; and that the ſaid defendants may be referred hither to our court, to try what right they have in their claim to this caviare. Wherein your highneſs and the moſt ſerene republic will do as well what is moſt juſt in itſelf, as what is truly becoming the ſpotleſs amity between both republics: and laſtly, what will gratefully be recompenſed by the goodwill and kind offices of this republic, whenever occaſions offer.

Whitehall, Feb. —, 1652. Sealed with the ſeal of the council, and ſubſcribed PRESIDENT of the council.

To the SPANISH Embaſſador.

Moſt Excellent Lord,

THE council of ſtate, according to a command from the parliament, dated the ſecond of March, having taken into ſerious deliberation your excellency's paper of the fifteenth of February, delivered to the commiſſioners of this council, wherein it ſeemed good to your excellency to propoſe, that a reply might be given to two certain heads therein ſpecified as previous, returns the following anſwer to your excellency.

The parliament, when they gave an anſwer to thoſe things which were propoſed by your excellency at your firſt audience, as alſo in thoſe letters which they wrote to the moſt ſerene king of Spain, gave real and ample demonſtrations, how grateful and how acceptable that

friendſhip and that mutual alliance, which was offered by his royal majeſty, and by yourſelf in his name, would be to them; and how fully they were reſolved, as far as in them lay, to make the ſame returns of friendſhip and good offices.

After that, it ſeemed good to your excellency, at your firſt audience in council upon the nineteenth of December old ſtyle, to propound to this council, as a certain ground or method for an auſpicious commencement of a ſtricter amity, that ſome of their body might be nominated, who might hear what your excellency had to propoſe; and who having well weighed the benefit, that might redound from thence, ſhould ſpeedily report the ſame to the council. To which requeſt of yours, that ſatisfaction might be given, the council appointed certain of their number to attend your excellency, which was done accordingly. But inſtead of thoſe things, which were expected to have been propounded, the conference produced no more than the above mentioned paper: to which the anſwer of the council is this.

When the parliament ſhall have declared their minds, and your excellency ſhall have made the progreſs as above expected, we ſhall be ready to confer with your excellency, and to treat of ſuch matters as you ſhall propoſe in the name of the king your maſter, as well in reference to the friendſhip already concluded, as the entering into another more ſtrict and binding; or as to any thing elſe, which ſhall be offered by ourſelves in the name of this republic: and when we deſcend to particulars, we ſhall return ſuch anſwers as are moſt proper, and the nature of the thing propoſed ſhall require.

Whitehall, March 21, 1652.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the moſt Serene Prince FREDERIC the Third, King of DENMARK, &c., Greeting.

Moſt Serene and Potent King,

WE have received your majeſty's letters, dated from Copenhagen the twenty firſt of December laſt, and delivered

livered to the parliament of the commonwealth of England by the noble Henry Willemſem Roſenwyng de Lynſacker, and moſt gladly peruſed them, with that affection of mind, which the matters therein propounded juſtly merit, and requeſt your majeſty to be fully perſuaded of this, that the ſame inclinations, the ſame deſires of continuing and preſerving the ancient friendſhip, commerce, and alliance for ſo many years maintained between England and Denmark, which are in your majeſty, are alſo in us. Not being ignorant, that though it has pleaſed Divine Providence, beholding this nation with ſuch a benign and favourable aſpect, to change for the better the received form of the former government among us; nevertheleſs, that the ſame intereſts on both ſides, the ſame common advantages, the ſame mutual alliance and free traffic, which produced the former leagues and confederacies between both nations, ſtill endure and obtain their former force and virtue, and oblige both to make it their common ſtudy by rendering thoſe leagues the moſt beneficial that may be to each other, to eſtabliſh alſo a nearer and ſounder friendſhip for the time to come. And if your majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to purſue thoſe counſels, which are manifeſted in your royal letters, the parliament will be ready to embrace the ſame with all alacrity and fidelity, and to contribute all thoſe things to the utmoſt of their power, which they ſhall think may conduce to that end. And they perſuade themſelves, that your majeſty for this reaſon will take thoſe counſels in reference to this republic, which may facilitate the good ſucceſs of thoſe things propounded by your majeſty to ourſelves ſo deſirous of your amity. In the mean time, the parliament wiſhes all happineſs and proſperity to your majeſty and people.

Weſtminſter, April —, 1652.

Under the ſeal of the parliament, and ſubſcribed in its name, and by the authority of it, SPEAKER, &c.

The

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the moſt Illuſtrious and Magnificent, the Proconſuls and Senators of the HANSE TOWNS, Greeting

Moſt Noble, Magnificent, and Illuſtrious, our deareſt Friends;

THE parliament of the commonwealth of England has both received and peruſed your letters of the ſixteenth of January laſt, delivered by your public miniſter Leo ab Ayſema, and by their authority have given him an audience; at what time he declared the cordial and friendly inclinations of your cities toward this republic, and deſired that the ancient friendſhip might ſtill remain on both ſides. The parliament therefore, for their parts, declare and aſſure your lordſhips, that they deem nothing more grateful to themſelves, than that the ſame friendſhip and alliance, which has hitherto been maintained between this nation and thoſe cities, ſhould be renewed, and firmly ratified; and that they will be ready, upon all occaſions fitly offered, what they promiſe in words ſolemnly to perform in real deeds; and expect that their ancient friends and confederates ſhould deal by them with the ſame truth and integrity. But as to thoſe things, which your reſident has more particularly in charge, in regard they were by us referred entire to the council of ſtate, and his propoſals were to be there conſidered, they tranſacted with him there, and gave him ſuch anſwers, as ſeemed moſt conſentaneous to equity and reaſon, of which your reſident is able to give you an account; whoſe prudence and conſpicuous probity proclaim him worthy the public character by you conferred upon him.

Weſtminſter, April —, 1652.

Under the ſeal of the parliament, in the name, and by the authority of it, ſubſcribed, SPEAKER, &c.

The

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the Illuſtrious and Magnificient Senate of the City of HAMBOROUGH, Greeting.

Moſt Noble, Magnificent, and Illuſtrious, our deareſt Friends;

THE parliament of the commonwealth of England has received and peruſed your letters, dated from Hamborough the fifteenth of January laſt, and delivered by the noble Leo ab Ayſema, yours and the reſt of the Hanſeatic cities reſident, and by their own authority gave him audience; and as to what other particular commands he had from your city, they have referred them to the council of ſtate, and gave them orders to receive his propoſals, and to treat with him as ſoon as might be, concerning all ſuch things as ſeemed to be juſt and equal: which was alſo done accordingly. And as the parliament has made it manifeſt, that they will have a due regard to what ſhall be propoſed by your lordſhips, and have teſtified their ſingular goodwill toward your city, by ſending their reſident thither, and commanding his abode there; ſo on the other ſide they expect, and deſervedly require from your lordſhips, that the ſame equity be returned to them, in things which are to the benefit of this republic, either already propoſed, or hereafter to be propounded by our ſaid reſident in their name to your city, anciently our friend and confederate.

Weſtminſter, April —, 1652.

Under the ſeal of the parliament, in the name, and by the authority of it, ſubſcribed, SPEAKER, &c.

The council of ſtate of the Republic of ENGLAND, to the moſt Serene Prince FERDINAND the Second, Grand Duke of TUSCANY, Greeting.

THE council of ſtate being informed by letters from Charles Longland, who takes care of the affairs of the Engliſh in your highneſs's court of Leghorn, that lately fourteen men of war belonging to the United Provinces, came into that harbour, and openly threatened to ſink

or

or burn the Engliſh ſhips that were riding in your port; but that your Serenity, whoſe protection and ſuccour the Engliſh merchants implored, gave command to the governor of Leghorn, that he ſhould aſſiſt and defend the Engliſh veſſels: they deemed it their duty to certify to your highneſs how acceptable that kindneſs and protection, which you ſo favourably afforded the Engliſh nation, was to this republic; and do promiſe your highneſs, that they will always keep in remembrance the merit of ſo deſerving a favour, and will be ready upon all occaſions to make the ſame returns of friendſhip and good offices to your people, and to do all things elſe, which may conduce to the preſervation and continuance of the uſual amity and commerce between both nations. And whereas the Dutch men of war, even in the time of treaty offered by themſelves, were ſo highly perfidious as to fall upon our fleet in our own roads, (in which foul attempt, God, as moſt juſt arbiter, ſhowed himſelf offended and oppoſite to their deſign) but alſo in the ports of foreigners endeavoured to take or ſink our merchant veſſels; we thought it alſo neceſſary to ſend this declaration alſo of the parliament of the commonwealth of England to your highneſs, the publiſhing of which was occaſioned by the controverſies at preſent ariſen between this republic and the United Provinces. By which your highneſs may eaſily perceive how unjuſt and contrary to all the laws of God and of nations thoſe people have acted againſt this republic; and how cordially the parliament laboured, for the ſake of public tranquillity, to have retained their priſtine friendſhip and alliance.

Whitehall, July 29, 1652.

In the name, and by the authority of the Council, ſubſcribed, PRESIDENT.

To the SPANISH Embaſſador.

Moſt Excellent Lord,

THE council of ſtate, upon mature deliberation of that paper which they received from your excellency, $\frac{27\ May,}{6\ June,}$ 1652, as alſo upon that which your excellency at your

your audience the $\frac{6}{16}$ of this month delivered to the council, return this anſwer to both thoſe papers: that the parliament, &c. was always very deſirous of preſerving the firm friendſhip and good peace ſettled at preſent between this republic and his royal majeſty of Spain, from the time that firſt your excellency ſignified the tendency of his majeſty's inclinations that way, and was always ready to ratify and confirm the ſame to the benefit and advantage of both nations. And this the council of ſtate in the name, and by command of the parliament, in their papers ofttimes made known to your excellency; and particularly, according to your excellency's deſire, made choice of commiſſioners to attend and receive from your excellency ſuch propoſals as might conduce to the ſame purpoſe. At which meeting, inſtead of making ſuch propoſals, it ſeemed good to your excellency only to propound ſome general matters, as it were previous to a future conference, concerning which it ſeemed to the council that the parliament had in former papers fully made known their ſentiments. Nevertheleſs for more ample and accumulative ſatisfaction, and to remove all ſcruples from your excellency concerning thoſe matters which they at that time propoſed, the council in that paper, dated $\frac{31 \text{ March,}}{10 \text{ April,}}$ declared themſelves ready to come to a conference with your excellency, concerning thoſe things which you had in charge from his royal majeſty, as well in reference to the priſtine amity, as to any farther negotiation; as alſo touching ſuch matters as ſhould be exhibited by us, in the name of this republic; and when we came to ſuch particulars as were to the purpoſe, and the nature of the thing required, then to give convenient anſwers. To which it ſeemed good to your excellency to make no reply, nor to proceed any farther in that affair for almoſt two months. About that time the council received from your excellency your firſt paper, dated $\frac{27 \text{ May,}}{6 \text{ June,}}$ wherein you only made this propoſal, that the articles of peace and league between the late king Charles and your maſter, dated the $\frac{6}{16}$ of November 1630, might be reviewed, and that the ſeveral heads of it might be either enlarged or left out, according to the preſent condition

condition of times and things, and the late alteration of government. Which being no more than what we ourſelves briefly and clearly ſignified in our foreſaid paper of the $\frac{31 \text{ March,}}{10 \text{ April,}}$ the council expected, that ſome particular articles would have been propounded out of that league, with thoſe amplifications and alterations of which you made mention; ſince otherwiſe it is impoſſible for us to return any other anſwer concerning this matter, than what we have already given. And whereas your excellency in your laſt paper ſeems to charge us with delay, the council therefore took a ſecond review of the foreſaid paper of the $\frac{27 \text{ May,}}{6 \text{ June,}}$ and of what was therein propounded, and are ſtill of opinion, that they have fully ſatisfied your excellency in that former paper: to which they can only farther add, that ſo ſoon as your excellency ſhall be pleaſed, either out of the leagues already made, or in any other manner, to frame ſuch conditions as ſhall be accommodated to the preſent ſtate of things and times, upon which you deſire to have the foundations of friendſhip laid on your ſide, they will immediately return you ſuch anſwers as by them ſhall be thought juſt and reaſonable, and which ſhall be ſufficient teſtimonials, that the parliament ſtill perſeveres in the ſame deſires of preſerving an untainted and firm amity with the king your maſter, and that on their parts they will omit no honeſt endeavours, and worthy of themſelves, to advance it to the higheſt perfection.

Furthermore, the council deems it to be a part of their duty, that your excellency ſhould be put in mind of that paper of ours, dated January 30, 1651, to which in regard your excellency has returned no anſwer as yet, we preſs and expect that ſatisfaction be given to the parliament, as to what is therein mentioned.

The Anſwer of the Council of State to the Reply of the Lords Embaſſadors Extraordinary from the King of DENMARK and NORWAY, delivered to the Commiſſioners of the Council, to the Anſwer which the Council gave to their fourteen Demands.

TO the end that ſatisfaction may be given to the foreſaid lords embaſſadors in reference to the anſwer of the council

council to the fifth, ſixth, ſeventh, eighth, and ninth article, the council conſents, that this following clauſe ſhall be added at the end of their anſwers: that is to ſay, beſides ſuch colonies, iſlands, ports, and places, under the dominion of either party, to which it is by law provided that nobody ſhall reſort upon the account of trade or commerce, unleſs upon ſpecial leave firſt obtained of that party to which that colony, iſland, port, or places belong.

The receiving of any perſon into any ſhip, that ſhall be driven in by ſtreſs of weather into the rivers, ports, or bays, belonging to either party, ſhall not render that veſſel liable to any trouble or ſearch, by the anſwer of the council to the eleventh article, as the foreſaid lords embaſſadors in their reply ſeem to have underſtood, unleſs it be where ſuch a receiving ſhall be againſt the laws, ſtatutes, or cuſtom of that place where the veſſel put in, wherein it ſeems to the council, that there is nothing of ſeverity ordained, but what equally conduces to the ſecurity of both republics.

As to the proving the property of ſuch ſhips and goods as ſhall be caſt aſhore by ſhipwreck, the council deems it neceſſary that an oath be adminiſtered in thoſe courts which are already, or ſhall hereafter be conſtituted, where the claimers may be ſeverally heard and every body's right be determined and adjudged; which cannot be ſo clearly and ſtrictly done by written certificates, whence many ſcruples and doubts may ariſe, and many frauds and deceits creep into that ſort of proof, which it concerns both parties to prevent. The council alſo deems it juſt, that a certain time be prefixed, before which time, whoever does not prove himſelf the lawful owner of the ſaid goods, ſhall be excluded, to avoid ſuits. But as to the manner of putting periſhable goods to ſale, that are caſt aſhore by ſhipwreck, the council thinks it meet to propoſe the way of ſelling by inch of candle, as being the moſt probable means to procure the true value of the goods for the beſt advantage of the proprietors. Nevertheleſs, if the foreſaid lords embaſſadors ſhall propoſe any other method already found out, which may more properly conduce to this end, the council

council will be no hindrance, but that what is juſt may be put in practice. Neither is it to be underſtood, that the conſideration of this matter ſhall put any ſtop to the treaty.

As to the puniſhment of thoſe, who ſhall violate the propounded treaty, the council has made that addition, which is mentioned in their anſwer to the fourteenth article, for the greater force and efficacy of that article, and thereby to render the league itſelf more firm and laſting.

As to the laſt clauſe of the fourteenth article, we think it not proper to give our aſſent to thoſe leagues and alliances, of which mention is made in the aforeſaid anſwers, and which are only generally propounded, before it be more clearly apparent to us what they are. But when your excellencies ſhall be pleaſed to explain thoſe matters more clearly to the council, we may be able to give a more expreſs anſwer to thoſe particulars.

A Reply of the Council of State to the Anſwer of the foreſaid Lords Embaſſadors, which was returned to the ſix Articles propounded by the Council aforeſaid, in the Name of the Republic of ENGLAND.

THE council, having viewed the commiſſions of the foreſaid lords embaſſadors, giving them power to tranſact with the parliament or their commiſſioners, concerning all things expedient to be tranſacted in order to the reviving the old leagues, or adding new ones, believed indeed the foreſaid lords to have been furniſhed with that authority, as to be able to return anſwers, and negotiate all things, as well ſuch as ſhould be propounded by this republic, as on the behalf of the king of Denmark and Norway, and ſo did not expect the replies, which it has pleaſed the foreſaid lords embaſſadors to give to the firſt, ſecond, third, and fifth demand of the council, whereby of neceſſity a ſtop will be put to this treaty, in regard it is but juſt in itſelf, and ſo reſolved on in council, to comprehend the whole league, and to treat at the ſame time as well concerning thoſe things which regard this repub-

lic, as thoſe other matters, which concern the king of Denmark and Norway. Wherefore it is the earneſt deſire of the council, that your excellencies would be pleaſed to return an anſwer to our firſt, ſecond, third, and fifth demand.

As to the fourth article concerning the cuſtoms of Gluckſtadt, in regard they are now aboliſhed, as your excellencies have mentioned in your anſwer, the council preſſes that their abrogation may be ratified by this treaty, leſt they ſhould be reimpoſed hereafter.

As to the ſixth article concerning piracy, the council inſerted it, as equally appertaining to the benefit of both, and to the eſtabliſhing of trade in common, which is much diſturbed by pirates and ſearobbers. And whereas the anſwer of the lords embaſſadors, as to this article, relates only to enemies, but makes no mention of pirates, the council therefore deſires a more diſtinct reply to it.

And whereas the foreſaid lords embaſſadors in their reply to the anſwer of the council have paſſed over both their tenth article, and the anſwer of the council to it; the council have thought it neceſſary, to add this following article, to their following demands.

That the people and inhabitants of the republic of England trading into any kingdoms, regions, or territories of the king of Denmark and Norway, ſhall not for the future pay any more cuſtoms, tribute, taxes, duties, or ſtipends, or in any other manner, than the people of the United Provinces, or any other foreign nation, that pays the leaſt, coming in or going out of harbour; and ſhall enjoy the ſame, and as equally ample freedom, privileges, and immunities, both coming and going, and ſo long as they ſhall reſide in the country, as alſo in fiſhing, trading, or in any other manner which any other people of a foreign nation enjoys, or may enjoy in the foreſaid kingdoms, and throughout the whole dominions of the ſaid king of Denmark and Norway: which privileges alſo the ſubjects of the king of Denmark and Norway ſhall equally enjoy throughout all the territories and dominions of the republic of England.

The Council of State of the Republic of ENGLAND, to the moſt Serene Prince, FERDINAND the Second, Grand Duke of TUSCANY, Greeting.

Moſt Serene Prince, our deareſt Friend,

THE council of State underſtanding, as well by your highneſs's agent here reſiding, as by Charles Longland, cheif factor for the Engliſh at Leghorn, with what affection and fidelity your highneſs undertook the protection of the Engliſh veſſels putting into the port of Leghorn for ſhelter, againſt the Dutch men of war threatening them with nothing but ranſack and deſtruction, by their letters of the twenty ninth of July (which they hope are by this time come to your highneſs's hands) have made known to your highneſs how grateful and how acceptable it was to them; and at the ſame time ſent to your Serenity a declaration of the parliament of the commonwealth of England, concerning the preſent differences between this Republic and the United Provinces. And whereas the council has again been informed by the ſame Charles Longland, what further commands your highneſs gave for the ſecurity and defence of the Engliſh veſſels, notwithſtanding the oppoſite endeavours of the Dutch, they deemed this opportunity not to be paſſed over, to let your highneſs underſtand once more, how highly they eſteem your juſtice and ſingular conſtancy in defending their veſſels, and how acceptable they took ſo great a piece of ſervice. Which being no mean teſtimony of your ſolid friendſhip and affection to this republic, your highneſs may aſſure yourſelf, that the ſame offices of kindneſs and goodwill towards your highneſs ſhall never be wanting in us; ſuch as may be able to demonſtrate how firmly we are reſolved to cultivate both long and conſtantly, to the utmoſt of our power, that friendſhip which is between your Serenity and this republic. In the mean time, we have expreſsly commanded all our ſhips, upon their entrance into your ports, not to fail of paying the accuſtomed ſalutes by firing their guns, and to give all other due honours to your highneſs.

Whitehall, Sept.—1652. Sealed with the Council-Seal, and ſubſcribed, Preſident.

To the SPANISH Embaſſador, ALPHONSO DE CARDENAS.

Moſt Excellent Lord,

YOUR excellency's letters of the $\frac{1}{11}$ of November 1652, delivered by your ſecretary, together with two petitions enclоſed, concerning the ſhips, the Sampſon and San Salvadore, were read in council. To which the council returns this anſwer, That the Engliſh man of war meeting with the aforeſaid ſhips, not in the Downs, as your excellency writes, but in the open ſea, brought them into port as enemies ſhips, and therefore lawful prize; and the court of admiralty, to which it properly belongs to take cognizance of all cauſes of this nature, have undertaken to determine the right in diſpute; where all parties concerned on both ſides ſhall be fully and freely heard, and you may be aſſured that right ſhall take place. We have alſo ſent your excellency's requeſt to the judges of that court, to the end we may more certainly underſtand what progreſs they have made in their proceeding to judgment. Of which, ſo ſoon as we are rightly informed, we ſhall take care that ſuch orders ſhall be given in this matter, as ſhall correſpond with juſtice, and become the friendſhip that is between this republic and your king. Nor are we leſs confident, that his royal majeſty will by no means permit the goods of the enemies of this commonwealth to be concealed, and eſcape due confiſcation under the ſhelter of being owned by his ſubjects.

Sealed with the Council-Seal, and ſubſcribed,

Whitehall,
Nov. 11, 1652.

William Maſham, Preſident.

To the SPANISH Embaſſador.

Moſt Excellent Lord,

BUT lately the council has been informed by captain Badiley, admiral of the fleet of this Republic in the Straits, that after he himſelf, together with three other men of war, had for two days together engaged eleven of

of the Dutch, put into Porto Longone, as well to repair the damages he had received in the fight, as alſo to ſupply himſelf with warlike ammunition; where the governor of the place performed all the good offices of a moſt juſt and courteous perſon, as well towards his own, as the reſt of the men of war under his conduct. Now in regard that that ſame place is under the dominion of the moſt ſerene king of Spain, the council cannot but look upon the ſingular civility of that garriſon to be the copious fruit of that ſtricter mutual amity ſo auſpiciouſly commenced; and therefore deem it to be a part of their duty, to return their thanks to his majeſty for a kindneſs ſo opportunely received, and deſire your excellency to ſignify this to your moſt ſerene king, and to aſſure him, that the Parliament of the commonwealth of England will be always ready to make the ſame returns of friendſhip and civility upon all occaſions offered.

Sealed with the Council-Seal, and ſubſcribed,

Weſtminſter, Nov. 11, 1652.

William Maſham, Preſident.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the moſt Serene Prince FERDINAND the Second, Grand Duke of TUSCANY, Greeting.

Moſt Serene Prince, our deareſt Friend,

THE Parliament of the Commonwealth of England has received your letters dated from Florence, Auguſt 17, concerning the reſtitution of a certain ſhip laden with rice, which ſhip is claimed by captain Cardi of Leghorn. And though the judges of our admiralty have already pronounced ſentence in that cauſe againſt the aforeſaid Cardi, and that there be an appeal depending before the delegates; yet upon your highneſs's requeſt, the parliament, to teſtify how much they value the goodwill and alliance of a prince ſo much their friend, have given order to thoſe who are entruſted with this affair, that the ſaid ſhip, together with the rice, or at leaſt the full price of it, be reſtored to the foreſaid captain Cardi; the

fruit of which command his proctor here has effectually already reaped. And as your highneſs by favourably affording your patronage and protection to the ſhips of the Engliſh in your port of Leghorn, has in a more eſpecial manner tied the parliament to your ſerenity; ſo will they, on the other ſide, take care, as often as opportunity offers, that all their offices of ſincere friendſhip and goodwill towards your highneſs may be ſolidly effectual and permanent; withal recommending your highneſs to the divine benignity, and protection of the Almighty.

Sealed with the ſeal of the commonwealth, and ſubſcribed,

Weſtminſter, Nov. 1652.

Speaker, &c.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the moſt Serene and Potent Prince, King of DENMARK, &c.

Moſt Serene and Potent King,

THE Parliament of the Commonwealth of England have received information from their admiral of that fleet ſo lately ſent to Copenhagen, your majeſty's port, to convoy our merchants homeward bound, that the foreſaid ſhips are not permitted to return along with him, as being detained by your majeſty's command; and upon his producing your royal letters, declaring your juſtifications of the matter of fact, the parliament denies, that the reaſons laid down in thoſe letters for the detaining of thoſe ſhips are any way ſatisfactory to them. Therefore that ſome ſpeedy remedy may be applied in a matter of ſo great moment, and ſo highly conducing to the proſperity of both nations, for preventing a greater perhaps enſuing miſchief, the parliament have ſent their reſident at Hambrough, Richard Bradſhaw, eſquire, a perſon of great worth and known fidelity, with expreſs commands to treat with your majeſty, as their agent alſo in Denmark, concerning this affair: and therefore we entreat your majeſty, to give him a favourable audience and ample credit in whatever he ſhall propoſe to your

your majeſty on our behalf, in reference to this matter; in the mean time recommending your majeſty to the protection of Divine Providence.

Under the Seal of the Parliament,
Weſtminſter, and in their Name, and by their
Nov. 6, 1652. Authority, ſubſcribed,
Speaker, &c.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the moſt Serene Prince, the Duke of VENICE, Greeting.

THE Parliament of the Commonwealth of England has received your highneſs's letters, dated June 1, 1652, and delivered by Lorenzo Pallutio, wherein they not only gladly perceive both yours, and the cordial inclination of the ſenate toward this republic, but have willingly laid hold of this opportunity to declare their ſingular affection and goodwill towards the moſt Serene Republic of Venice; which they ſhall be always ready to make manifeſt both really and ſincerely, as often as opportunity offers. To whom alſo all the ways and means, that ſhall be propounded to them for the preſerving or increaſing mutual friendſhip and alliance, ſhall be ever moſt acceptable. In the mean time we heartily pray, that all things proſperous, all things favourable, may befall your highneſs and the moſt ſerene Republic.

Sealed with the Parliament-Seal,
Weſtminſter, and ſubſcribed,
Dec. 1652. Speaker, &c.

The Parliament of the Republic of ENGLAND, to the moſt Serene Prince, FERDINAND the Second, Grand Duke of TUSCANY, Greeting.

ALTHOUGH the parliament of the republic of England ſome time ſince redoubled their commands to all the chief captains and maſters of ſhips arriving in the ports belonging to your highneſs, to carry themſelves peacefully and civilly, and with becoming obſervance and duty to a moſt ſerene prince, whoſe friendſhip this

republic ſo earneſtly endeavours to preſerve, as having been obliged by ſo many great kindneſſes; an accident altogether unexpected has fallen out, through the inſolence, as they hear, of captain Appleton, in the port of Leghorn, who offered violence to the ſentinel then doing his duty upon the mole, againſt the faith and duty which he owes this republic, and in contempt of the reverence and honour which is juſtly owing to your highneſs: the relation of which action, as it was really committed, the parliament has underſtood by your letters of the ſeventh and ninth of December, dated from Florence; as alſo more at large by the moſt worthy Almeric Salvetti, your reſident here. And they have ſo ſincerely laid to heart your highneſs's honour, which is the main concern of this complaint, that they have referred it to the Council of State, to take care that letters be ſent to capt. Appleton, to come away without ſtop or ſtay by land, in order to his giving an account of this unwonted and extraordinary act (a copy of which letters is ſent herewith encloſed) who ſo ſoon as he ſhall arrive, and be accuſed of the fact, we promiſe, that ſuch a courſe ſhall be taken with him, as may ſufficiently teſtify that we no leſs heinouſly brook the violation of your right than the infringement of our own authority. Moreover, upon mature debate concerning the recovered ſhip, called the Phœnix of Leghorn, which affair is alſo related and preſſed by your highneſs and your reſident here, to have been done by captain Appleton, contrary to promiſe given, whereby he was obliged not to fall upon even the Hollanders themſelves within ſight of the lantern; and that your highneſs, truſting to that faith, promiſed ſecurity to the Hollanders upon your word; and therefore that we ought to take care for the ſatisfaction of thoſe, who ſuffer damage under the protection of your promiſe; the parliament begs of your excellency to be aſſured, that this fact, as it was committed without their advice or command, ſo it is moſt remote from their will and intention, that your highneſs ſhould undergo any detriment or diminution of your honour by it. Rather they will make it their buſineſs, that ſome expedient may be found out for your ſatisfaction, according to the

nature of the fact, upon examination of the whole matter. Which that they may ſo much the more fully underſtand, they deem it neceſſary, that captain Appleton himſelf ſhould be heard, who was bound by the ſame faith, and is thought by your excellency at leaſt to have conſented to the violation of it; eſpecially ſince he is ſo ſuddenly to return home. And ſo ſoon as the parliament has heard him, and have more at large conferred with your reſident concerning this matter of no ſmall moment, they will pronounce that ſentence that ſhall be juſt, and conſentaneous to that extreme goodwill, which they bear to your highneſs, and no way unworthy the favours by you conferred upon them. Of which that your highneſs might not make the leaſt queſtion in the mean time, we were willing to certify your highneſs by this expreſs on purpoſe ſent, that we ſhall omit no opportunity, to teſtify how greatly we value your friendſhip.

Weſtminſter, Dec. 14, 1652. Sealed with the Parliament Seal, and ſubſcribed, Speaker, &c.

The Council of State of the Republic of England, to the moſt Serene Prince, FREDERICK, Heir of NORWAY, Duke of SLESWICK, HOLSATIA, STORMARIA, DITMARSH, Count in OLDENBURGH and DELMENHORST, Greeting.

THOUGH it has pleaſed the moſt wiſe God, and moſt merciful Moderator of all things, beſides the burden which he laid upon us in common with our anceſtors, to wage moſt juſt wars in defence of our liberty againſt tyrannical uſurpation, ſignally alſo to ſuccour us with thoſe auſpices and that divine aſſiſtance, beyond what he afforded to our predeceſſors, that we have been able not only to extinguiſh a civil war, but to extirpate the cauſes of it for the future, as alſo to repel the unexpected violences of foreign enemies; nevertheleſs, with grateful minds, as much as in us lies, acknowledging the ſame favour and benignity of the Supreme Deity towards us, we are not ſo puffed up with the ſucceſs of our affairs, but that rather inſtructed in the ſingular juſtice and providence

vidence of God, and having had long experience of ourſelves, we abominate the thoughts of war, if poſſible to be avoided, and moſt eagerly embrace peace with all men. Therefore, as hitherto we never were the firſt that violated or deſired the violation of that friendſhip, or thoſe ancient privileges of leagues, that have been ratified between us and any princes or people whatever; ſo your highneſs, in conſideration of your ancient amity with the Engliſh, left us by our anceſtors, may, with a moſt certain aſſurance, promiſe both yourſelf and your people all things equitable, and all things friendly from us. Laſtly, as we highly value, which is no more than what is juſt and reaſonable, the teſtimonies of your affection and good offices offered us, ſo we ſhall make it our buſineſs, that you may not at any time be ſenſible of the want of ours, either to yourſelf or yours. And ſo we moſt heartily recommend your highneſs to the omnipotent protection of the Almighty God.

Whitehall, July—1653. Sealed with the Council Seal, and ſubſcribed, Preſident.

To the Count of OLDENBURGH.

Moſt Illuſtrious Lord,

THE Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND have received an extroardinary congratulation from your excellency, moſt kindly and courteouſly delivered to us by word of mouth by Herman Mylius, your counſellor and doctor of laws: who wiſhed all things lucky and proſperous, in your name, to the parliament and Engliſh intereſt, and deſired that the friendſhip of this republic might remain inviolable within your territories. He alſo deſired letters of ſafe conduct, to the end your ſubjects may the more ſecurely trade and ſail from place to place; together with our orders to our public miniſters abroad, to be aiding and aſſiſting to your excellency and your intereſts with their good offices and counſels. To which requeſts of his we willingly conſented, and granted both our friendſhip, the letters deſired, and our orders to our public miniſters under the ſeal of the parliament.

liament. And though it be ſome months ago ſince your public miniſter firſt came to us, however that delay neither aroſe from any unwillingneſs on our part to aſſent to the requeſt made in your excellency's name, or that your deputy was at any time wanting in his ſedulity (whoſe ſolicitations were daily and earneſt with all the diligence and importunity that became him, to the end he might be diſpatched) but only it happened ſo, that at that time the greateſt and moſt weighty affairs of the republic were under debate and ſerious negotiation. Of which we thought meet to certify your illuſtrious lordſhip, leſt any body, through a falſe conſtruction of this delay, ſhould think thoſe favours unwillingly or hardly obtained, which were moſt gladly granted by the parliament of the commonwealth of England. In whoſe name theſe are commanded to be ſigned.

HENRY SCOBEL, clerk of the parliament.

To the moſt Illuſtrious and Noble Senators, SCULTETS, LANDAM, and Senators of the Evangelic Cantons of SWITZERLAND, ZURICK, BERN, GLARIS, BALE, SCHAFFHUSEN, APPENZEL, alſo the Confederates of the ſame Religion in the Country of the GRISONS, of GENEVA, ST. GALL, MALHAUSEN and BIENNE, our deareſt friends;

YOUR letters, moſt Illuſtrious Lords and deareſt confederates, dated December twenty four, full of civility, goodwill, and ſingular affection towards us and our republic, and what ought always to be greater and more ſacred to us, breathing fraternal and truly chriſtian charity, we have received. And in the firſt place, we return thanks to Almighty God, who has raiſed and eſtabliſhed both you and ſo many noble cities, not ſo much intrenched and fortified with thoſe encloſures of mountains, as with your innate fortitude, piety, moſt prudent and juſt adminiſtration of government, and the faith of mutual confederacies, to be a firm and inacceſſible ſhelter for all the truly orthodox. Now then that you who over all Europe were the firſt of mortals, who after deluges of barbarous tyrants from the north, Heaven proſpering

proſpering your valour, recovered your liberty, and being obtained, for ſo many years have preſerved it untainted, with no leſs prudence and moderation; that you ſhould have ſuch noble ſentiments of our liberty recovered; that you, ſuch ſincere worſhippers of the goſpel, ſhould be ſo conſtantly perſuaded of our love and affection for the orthodox faith, is that which is moſt acceptable and welcome to us. But as to your exhorting us to peace, with a pious and affectionate intent, as we are fully aſſured, certainly ſuch an admonition ought to be of great weight with us, as well in reſpect of the thing itſelf which you perſuade, and which of all things is chiefly to be deſired, as alſo for the great authority, which is to be allowed your lordſhips above others in this particular, who in the midſt of loud tumultuous wars on every ſide enjoy the ſweets of peace both at home and abroad, and have approved yourſelves the beſt example to all others of embracing and improving peace; and laſtly, for that you perſuade us to the very thing, which we ourſelves of our own accords, and that more than once, conſulting as well our own, as the intereſt of the whole evangelical communion, have begged by embaſſadors, and other public miniſters, namely, friendſhip and a moſt ſtrict league with the United Provinces. But how they treated our embaſſadors ſent to them to negotiate, not a bare peace, but a brotherly amity and moſt ſtrict league; what provocations to war they afterwards gave us; how they fell upon us in our own roads, in the midſt of their embaſſador's negotiations for peace and allegiance, little dreaming any ſuch violence; you will abundantly underſtand by our declaration ſet forth upon this ſubject, and ſent you together with theſe our letters. But as for our parts, we are wholly intent upon this, by God's aſſiſtance, though proſperous hitherto, ſo to carry ourſelves, that we may neither attribute any thing to our own ſtrength or forces, but all things to God alone, nor be inſolently puffed up with our ſucceſs; and we ſtill retain the ſame ready inclinations to embrace all occaſions of making a juſt and honeſt peace. In the mean time yourſelves, Illuſtrious and moſt Excellent Lords, in whom this noble

noble and pious ſedulity, out of mere evangelical affection, exerts itſelf to reconcile and pacify contending brethren, as ye are worthy of all applauſe among men, ſo doubtleſs will ye obtain the celeſtial reward of peace-makers with God; to whoſe ſupreme benignity and favour, we heartily recommend in our prayers both you and yours, no leſs ready to make returns of all good offices both of friends and brethren, if in any thing we may be ſerviceable to your lordſhips.

Weſtminſter, Octob. 1653. Sealed with the Parliament Seal, and ſubſcribed, Speaker, &c.

To the SPANISH Embaſſador.

Moſt Illuſtrious Lord,

UPON grievous complaints brought before us by Philip Noel, John Godal, and the ſociety of merchants of Foy in England, that a certain ſhip of theirs called the Ann of Foy, an Engliſh ſhip by them fitted out, and laden with their own goods, in her return home to the port of Foy about Michaelmas laſt, was unjuſtly and without any cauſe ſet upon and taken by a certain privateer of Oſtend, Eraſmus Bruer commander, and the ſeamen unworthily and barbarouſly uſed: the council of ſtate wrote to the marquis of Leda concerning it (a copy of which letter we alſo ſend encloſed to your excellency) and expected from him, that without delay orders would have been given for the doing of juſtice in this matter. Nevertheleſs after all this, the foreſaid Noel, together with the ſaid company, make further heavy complaint, that although our letters were delivered to the marquis, and that thoſe merchants from that time forward betook themſelves to Bruges to the court there held for maritime cauſes, and there aſſerted and proved their right, and the verity of their cauſe, yet that juſtice was denied them; and that they were ſo hardly dealt with, that, though the cauſe had been ripe for trial above three months, nevertheleſs they could obtain no ſentence from that court, but that their ſhip and goods are ſtill detained, notwithſtanding the great expenſes they have been at in proſecuting their claim. Now your excellency well knows it to be contrary to the law

law of nations, of traffic, and that friendſhip which is at preſent ſettled between the Engliſh and Flemings, that any Oſtender ſhould take any Engliſh veſſel, if bound for England with Engliſh goods; and that whatever was inhumanly and barbarouſly done to the Engliſh ſeamen by that commander, deſerves a rigorous puniſhment. The council therefore recommends the whole matter to your excellency, and makes it their requeſt, that you would write into Flanders concerning it, and take ſuch ſpeedy care, that this buſineſs may no longer be delayed, but that juſtice may be done in ſuch a manner that the foreſaid ſhip, together with the damages, coſts, and intereſt, which the Engliſh have ſuſtained and been out of purſe, by reaſon of that illegal ſeizure, may be reſtored and made good to them by the authority of the court, or in ſome other way; and that care be taken, that hereafter no ſuch violence be committed, but that the amity between our people and the Flemings may be preſerved without any infringement.

Signed in the name, and by the command of the council of ſtate, appointed by authority of parliament.

To the Marquis of LEDA.

GREAT complaints are brought before us by Philip Noel, John Godal, and the company of Foy merchants, concerning a ſhip of theirs, called the Ann of Foy, which being an Engliſh veſſel by them fitted out, and laden with their own goods, in her return home to her own port about Michaelmas laſt, was taken unawares by a freebooter of Oſtend, Eraſmus Bruer commander. It is alſo further related, that the Oſtenders, when the ſhip was in their power, uſed the ſeamen too inhumanly, by ſetting lighted match to their fingers, and plunging the maſter of the ſhip in the ſea till they almoſt drowned him, on purpoſe to extort a falſe confeſſion from him, that the ſhip and goods belonged to the French. Which though the maſter and the reſt of the ſhip's crew reſolutely denied, nevertheleſs the Oſtenders carried away the ſhip and goods to their own port. Theſe things, upon

upon ſtrict inquiry and examination of witneſſes, have been made manifeſt in the admiralty court in England, as will appear by the copies of the affidavits herewith ſent your lordſhip. Now in regard that that ſame ſhip, called the Ann of Foy, and all her lading of merchandize and goods, belong truly and properly to Engliſh, ſo that there is no apparent reaſon why the Oſtender ſhould ſeize by force either the one or the other, much leſs carry away the maſter of the ſhip, and uſe the ſeamen ſo unmercifully: and whereas according to the law of nations, and in reſpect of the friendſhip between the Flemings and the Engliſh, that ſhip and goods ought to be reſtored: we make it our earneſt requeſt to your excellency, that the Engliſh may have ſpeedy juſtice done, and that ſatisfaction may be given for their loſſes, to the end the traffic and friendſhip, which is between the Engliſh and Flemings, may be long and inviolably preſerved.

To the SPANISH Embaſſador.

THE parliament of the commonwealth of England, underſtanding that ſeveral of the people of this city daily reſort to the houſe of your excellency, and other embaſſadors and public miniſters from foreign nations here reſiding, merely to hear maſs, gave order to the council of ſtate, to let your excellency underſtand, that whereas ſuch reſort is prohibited by the laws of the nation, and of very evil example in this our republic, and extremely ſcandalous; that they deem it their duty, to take care that no ſuch thing be permitted henceforward, and to prohibit all ſuch aſſemblies for the future. Concerning which, it is our deſire, that your excellency ſhould have a fair advertiſement, to the end that henceforth your excellency may be more careful of admitting any of the people of this republic to hear maſs in your houſe. And as the parliament will diligently provide, that your excellency's rights and privileges ſhall be pr - ſerved inviolable, ſo they perſuade themſelves, that your excellency, during your abode here, would by no means, that the laws of this republic ſhould be violated by yourſelf or your attendants.

A Sum-

A Summary of the particular real Damages ſuſtained by the ENGLISH Company, in many Places of the EAST-INDIES, from the DUTCH Company in HOLLAND.

1. THE damages comprehended in the ſixteen articles, and formerly exhibited, amounting to 298555 royals ½, which is of our money 74638l. 15s. 00d.

2. We demand ſatisfaction to be given for the incomes of the iſland of Pularon, from the year ſixteen hundred and twenty two, to this time, of two hundred thouſand royals ½, beſides the future expenſe, till the right of juriſdiction over that iſland be reſtored in the ſame condition, as when it was wreſted out of our hands, as was by league agreed to, amounting of our money to - - - - - - 50000l. 00s. 00d.

3. We demand ſatisfaction for all the merchandize, proviſion, and furniture taken away by the agents of the Dutch company in the Indies, or to them delivered, or to any of their ſhips bound thither, or returning home; which ſum amounts to 80635 royals, of our money - - - - - 20158l. 00s. 00d.

4. We demand ſatisfaction for the cuſtoms of Dutch merchandize laden on board their ſhips in Perſia, or landed there from the year ſixteen hundred and twenty four, as was granted us by the King of Perſia, which we cannot value at leſs than fourſcore thouſand royals - - - - - - 20000l. 00s. 00d.

5. We demand ſatisfaction for four houſes maliciouſly and unjuſtly burnt at Jocatra, together with the warehouſes, magazines, and furniture, occaſioned by the Dutch governor there, of all which we have information from the place itſelf, after we had exhibited our firſt complaints: the total of which damage we value at - - - - - - 50000l. 00s. 00d.

We demand ſatisfaction for thirty two thouſand eight hundred and ninety nine pound of pepper, taken out of the ſhip Endymion in ſixteen hundred and forty nine, the total of which damage amounts to - - - - - - 6000l. 00s. 00d.

220796l. 15s. 00d.

A Sum-

A Summary of ſome particular Damages ſuſtained alſo from the DUTCH EAST-INDIA Company.

1. FOR damages ſuſtained by thoſe who beſieged Bantam, whence it came to paſs, that for ſix years together we were excluded from that trade, and conſequently from an opportunity of laying out in pepper ſix hundred thouſand royals, with which we might have laden our homeward bound ſhips; for want of which lading they rotted upon the coaſt of India. In the mean time our ſtock in India was waſted and conſumed in mariners wages, proviſion, and other furniture; ſo that they could not value their loſs at leſs than twenty hundred and four thouſand royals - - 600000l. oos. ood.

2. More for damages by reaſon of our due part loſt of the fruits in the Molucca iſlands, Banda and Amboyna, from the time that by the ſlaughter of our men we were thence expelled, till the time that we ſhall be ſatisfied for our loſs and expenſes; which ſpace of time, from the year ſixteen hundred and twenty two, to this preſent year ſixteen hundred and fifty, for the yearly revenue of 250000 lib. amounts in twenty eight years to - - - - - - - - - - - - 700000l. oos. ood.

3. We demand ſatisfaction for one hundred and two thouſand nine hundred and fifty nine royals, taken from us by the Mogul's people, whom the Dutch protected in ſuch a manner, that we never could repair our loſſes out of the money or goods of that people, which lay in their junks, which we endeavoured to do, and was in our power, had not the Dutch unjuſtly defended them. Which loſt money we could have trebled in Europe, and value at - - - - - - 77200l. oos. ood.

4. For the cuſtoms of Perſia, the half part of which was by the king of Perſia granted to the Engliſh, anno ſixteen hundred and twenty four. Which to the year ſixteen hundred and twenty nine, is valued at eight thouſand royals; to which add the four thouſand lib. which they are bound to pay ſince ſixteen hundred and

twenty nine, which is now one and twenty years, and it makes up the ſum of - - - - 840001. oos. ood.

From the firſt account - - 2207961. 15s. ood.

Sum total - - - - - 16819961. 15s. ood.

The intereſt from that time will far exceed the principal.

LETTERS

WRITTEN IN THE NAME OF

OLIVER THE PROTECTOR.

To the Count of OLDENBURGH.

Moſt Illuſtrious Lord,

BY your letters dated January twenty, ſixteen hundred and fifty four, I have been given to underſtand, that the noble Frederic Matthias Woliſog, and Chriſtopher Griphiander were ſent with certain commands from your illuſtrious lordſhip into England; who when they came to us, not only in your name congratulated our having taken upon us the government of the Engliſh republic, but alſo deſired, that you and your territories might be comprehended in the peace which we are about to make with the Low Countries, and that we would confirm by our preſent authority the letters of ſafeconduct lately granted your lordſhip by the parliament. Therefore in the firſt place we return your lordſhip our hearty thanks for your friendly congratulation, as it becomes us; and theſe will let you know that we have readily granted your two requeſts. Nor ſhall you find us wanting upon any opportunity, which may at any time make manifeſt our affection to your lordſhip. And this we are apt to believe you will underſtand more at large from your agents, whoſe fidelity and diligence in this affair of yours, in our court, has been eminently conſpicuous. As to what remains, we moſt heartily wiſh the bleſſings of proſperity and peace, both upon you and your affairs.

Your illuſtrious lordſhip's moſt affectionate,
OLIVER, protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.

To the Count of OLDENBURGH.

Moſt Illuſtrious Lord,

WE received your letters, dated May the ſecond, from Oldenburgh, moſt welcome upon more than one account; as well for that they were full of ſingular civility and goodwill towards us, as becauſe they were delivered by the hand of the moſt illuſtrious count Anthony, your beloved ſon; which we look upon as ſo much the greater honour, as not having truſted to report, but with our own eyes, and by our own obſervation diſcerned his virtues becoming ſuch an illuſtrious extraction, his noble manners and inclinations, and laſtly, his extraordinary affection toward ourſelves. Nor is it to be queſtioned but he diſplays to his own people the ſame fair hopes at home, that he will approve himſelf the ſon of a moſt worthy and moſt excellent father, whoſe ſignal virtue and prudence has all along ſo managed affairs, that the whole territory of Oldenburgh for many years has enjoyed a profound peace, and all the bleſſings of tranquillity, in the midſt of the raging confuſions of war thundering on every ſide. What reaſon therefore why we ſhould not value ſuch a friendſhip, that can ſo wiſely and providentially ſhun the enmity of all men? Laſtly, moſt illuſtrious lord, it is for your magnificent * preſent that we return you thanks; but it is of right, and your merits claim, that we are cordially,

Your illuſtrious lordſhip's moſt affectionate,

Weſtminſter,
June 29, 1654.

OLIVER, &c.

Superſcribed, To the moſt Illuſtrious Lord, ANTHONY GUNTHER, count in Oldenburgh and Delmenhorſt, lord in Jelvern and Kniphauſen.

* The horſes which threw him out of the coach-box.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND, &c., To the moſt Serene Prince CHARLES GUSTAVUS King of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS, Great Prince of FINLAND, Duke of ESTHONIA, CARELIA, BREME, VERDEN, STETTIN in POMERANIA, CASSUBIA, and VANDALIA; Prince of RUGIA, Lord of INGRIA, WISMARIA, as alſo Count PALATINE of the RHINE, and Duke of BAVARIA, CLEVES, and MONTS, &c., Greeting.

Moſt Serene King,

THOUGH it be already divulged over all the world, that the kingdom of the Swedes is tranſlated to your majeſty with the extraordinary applauſe and deſires of the people, and the free ſuffrages of all the orders of the realm; yet that your majeſty ſhould rather chooſe, that we ſhould underſtand the welcome news by your moſt friendly letters, than by the common voice of fame, we thought no ſmall argument both of your goodwill towards us, and of the honour done us among the firſt. Voluntarily therefore and of right we congratulate this acceſſion of dignity to your egregious merits, and the moſt worthy guerdon of ſo much virtue. And that it may be lucky and proſperous to your majeſty, to the nation of the Swedes, and the true chriſtian intereſt, which is alſo what you chiefly wiſh, with joint ſupplications we implore of God. And whereas your majeſty aſſures us, that the preſerving entire the league and alliance lately concluded between this republic and the kingdom of Sweden ſhall be ſo far your care, that the preſent amity may not only continue firm and inviolable, but, if poſſible, every day increaſe and grow to a higher perfection, to call it into queſtion, would be a piece of impiety, after the word of ſo great a prince once interpoſed, whoſe ſurpaſſing fortitude has not only purchaſed your majeſty an hereditary kingdom in a foreign land, but alſo could ſo far prevail, that the moſt auguſt queen, the daughter of Guſtavus, and a heroeſs ſo matchleſs in all degrees of praiſe and maſculine renown, that many ages backward have not pro-

duced her equal, ſurrendered the moſt juſt poſſeſſion o her empire to your majeſty, neither expecting nor willing to accept it. Now therefore it is our main deſire, your majeſty ſhould be every way aſſured, that your ſo ſingular affection toward us, and ſo eminent a ſignification of your mind, can be no other than moſt dear and welcome to us; and that no combat can offer itſelf to us more glorious, than ſuch a one wherein we may, if poſſible, prove victorious in outdoing your majeſty's civility by our kind offices, that never ſhall be wanting.

Your majeſty's moſt affectionate,

OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.

Weſtminſter,
July 4, 1654.

To the moſt Illuſtrious Lord, LEWIS MENDEZ de HARO.

WHAT we have underſtood by your letters, moſt illuſtrious lord, that there is an embaſſador already nominated and appointed by the moſt ſerene king of Spain, on purpoſe to come and congratulate our having undertaken the government of the republic, is not only deſervedly acceptable of itſelf, but rendered much more welcome and pleaſing to us by your ſingular affection, and the ſpeed of your civility, as being deſirous we ſhould underſtand it firſt of all from yourſelf. For, to be ſo beloved and approved by your lordſhip, who by your virtue and prudence have obtained ſo great authority with your prince, as to preſide, his equal in mind, over all the moſt important affairs of that kingdom, ought to be ſo much the more pleaſing to us, as well underſtanding that the judgment of a ſurpaſſing perſon cannot but be much to our honour and ornament. Now as to our cordial inclinations toward the king of Spain, and ready propenſity to hold friendſhip with that kingdom, and increaſe it to a ſtricter perfection, we hope we have already ſatisfied the preſent embaſſador, and ſhall more amply ſatisfy the other, ſo ſoon as he arrives. As to what remains, moſt illuſtrious lord, we heartily wiſh the dignity and favour, wherein you now

now flouriſh with your prince, perpetual to your lordſhip; and whatever affairs you carry on for the public good, may proſperouſly and happily ſucceed.

Your illuſtrious lordſhip's moſt affectionate,

Whitehall, Sept. 1654. OLIVER, &c.

To the moſt Serene Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS, &c.

BEING ſo well aſſured of your majeſty's goodwill towards me by your laſt letters, in anſwer to which I wrote back with the ſame affection, methinks I ſhould do no more than what our mutual amity requires, if as I communicate my grateful tidings to reciprocal joy, ſo when contrary accidents fall out, that I ſhould lay open the ſenſe and grief of my mind to your majeſty, as my deareſt friend. For my part, this is my opinion of myſelf, that I am now advanced to this degree in the commonwealth, to the end I ſhould conſult in the firſt place and as much as in me lies, for the common peace of the proteſtants. Which is the reaſon, that of neceſſity it behoves me more grievouſly to lay to heart what we are ſorry to hear concerning the bloody conflicts and mutual ſlaughters of the Bremeners and Swedes. But this I chiefly bewail, that being both our friends, they ſhould ſo deſpitefully combat one againſt another, and with ſo much danger to the intereſts of the proteſtants; and that the peace of Munſter, which it was thought would have proved an aſylum and ſafeguard to all the proteſtants, ſhould be the occaſion of ſuch an unfortunate war, that now the arms of the Swedes are turned upon thoſe, whom but a little before, among the reſt, they moſt ſtoutly defended for religion's ſake; and that this ſhould be done more eſpecially at this time, when the papiſts are ſaid to perſecute the reformed all over Germany, and to return to their intermitted for ſome time oppreſſions, and their priſtine violences. Hearing therefore, that a truce for ſome days was made at Breme, I could not forbear ſignifying to your majeſty, upon this op-

portunity offered, how cordially I desire, and how earneſtly I implore the God of peace, that this truce may prove ſucceſsfully happy for the good of both parties, and that it may conclude in a moſt firm peace, by a commodious accommodation on both ſides. To which purpoſe, if your majeſty judges that my aſſiſtance may any ways conduce, I moſt willingly offer and promiſe it, as in a thing, without queſtion, moſt acceptable to the moſt holy God. In the mean time, from the bottom of my heart, I beſeech the Almighty to direct and govern all your counſels for the common welfare of the chriſtian intereſt, which I make no doubt but that your majeſty chiefly deſires.

Whitehall, Octob. 26, 1654. Your majeſty's moſt affectionate, OLIVER, &c.

To the Magnificent and moſt Noble, the Conſuls and Senators of the City of BREME.

BY your letters delivered to us by your reſident Henry Oldenburgh, that there is a difference kindled between your city and a moſt potent neighbour, and to what ſtraits you are thereby reduced, with ſo much the more trouble and grief we underſtand, by how much the more we love and embrace the city of Breme, ſo eminent above others for their profeſſion of the orthodox faith. Neither is there any thing which we account more ſacred in our wiſhes, than that the whole proteſtant name would knit and grow together in brotherly unity and concord. In the mean time, moſt certain it is, that the common enemy of the reformed rejoices at theſe our diſſenſions, and more haughtily every where exerts his fury. But in regard the controverſy, which at preſent exerciſes your contending arms, is not within the power of our deciſion, we implore the Almighty God, that the truce begun may obtain a happy iſſue. Aſſuredly, as to what you deſired, we have written to the king of the Swedes, exhorting him to peace and agreement, as being moſt chiefly grateful to Heaven, and have offered our aſſiſtance in ſo pious a work. On the other ſide, we likewiſe exhort yourſelves to bear

an equal mind, and by no means to refuſe any honeſt conditions of reconciliation. And ſo we recommend your city to Divine Protection and Providence.

Your lordſhip's moſt affectionate,

Whitehall, Oct. 26, 1654. OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Republic of ENGLAND, to the moſt Illuſtrious Prince of TARENTUM.

YOUR love of religion apparently made known in your letters to us delivered, and your excelling piety and ſingular affection to the reformed churches, more eſpecially conſidering the nobility and ſplendour of your character, and in a kingdom too, wherein there are ſo many and ſuch abounding hopes propoſed to all of eminent quality that revolt from the orthodox faith, ſo many miſeries to be undergone by the reſolute and conſtant, gave us an occaſion of great joy and conſolation of mind. Nor was it leſs grateful to us, that we had gained your good opinion, upon the ſame account of religion, which ought to render your highneſs moſt chiefly beloved and dear to ourſelves. We call God to witneſs, that whatever hopes or expectations the churches, according to your relation, had of us, we may be able one day to give them ſatisfaction, if need require, or at leaſt to demonſtrate to all men, how much it is our deſire never to fail them. Nor ſhould we think any fruit of our labours, or of this dignity or ſupreme employment which we hold in our republic, greater than that we might be in a condition to be ſerviceable to the enlargement, or the welfare, or which is more ſacred, to the peace of the reformed church. In the mean time, we exhort and beſeech your lordſhip, to remain ſtedfaſt to the laſt minute in the orthodox religion, with the ſame reſolution and conſtancy, as you profeſs it received from your anceſtors with piety and zeal. Nor indeed can there be any thing more worthy yourſelf, or your religious parents, nor in conſideration of what you have deſerved of us, though we wiſh all things for your own

ſake,

ſake, that we can wiſh more noble or advantageous to your lordſhip, than that you would take ſuch methods, and apply yourſelf to ſuch ſtudies, that the churches, eſpecially of your native country, under the diſcipline of which your birth and genius have rendered you illuſtriouſly happy, may be ſenſible of ſo much the more aſſured ſecurity in your protection, by how much you excel others in luſtre and ability.

Whitehall, April —, 1654.

OLIVER, the Protector, &c., To the moſt Serene Prince, IMMANUEL Duke of SAVOY, Prince of Piemont, Greeting.

Moſt Serene Prince,

LETTERS have been ſent us from Geneva, as alſo from the Dauphinate, and many other places bordering upon your territories, wherein we are given to underſtand, that ſuch of your royal highneſs's ſubjects, as profeſs the reformed religion, are commanded by your edict, and by your authority, within three days after the promulgation of your edict, to depart their native ſeats and habitations, upon pain of capital puniſhment, and forfeiture of all their fortunes and eſtates, unleſs they will give ſecurity to relinquiſh their religion within twenty days, and embrace the Roman catholic faith. And that when they applied themſelves to your royal highneſs in a moſt ſuppliant manner, imploring a revocation of the ſaid edict, and that being received into priſtine favour, they might be reſtored to the liberty granted them by your predeceſſors, a part of your army fell upon them, moſt cruelly ſlew ſeveral, put others in chains, and compelled the reſt to fly into deſert places, and to the mountains covered with ſnow, where ſome hundreds of families are reduced to ſuch diſtreſs, that it is greatly to be feared, they will in a ſhort time all miſerably periſh through cold and hunger. Theſe things, when they were related to us, we could not chooſe but be touched with extreme grief and compaſſion for the ſufferings and calamities of this afflicted people.

people. Now in regard we muſt acknowledge ourſelves linked together not only by the ſame tie of humanity, but by joint communion of the ſame religion, we thought it impoſſible for us to ſatisfy our duty to God, to brotherly charity, or our profeſſion of the ſame religion, if we ſhould only be affected with a bare ſorrow for the miſery and calamity of our brethren, and not contribute all our endeavours, to relieve and ſuccour them in their unexpected adverſity, as much as in us lies. Therefore in a greater meaſure we moſt earneſtly beſeech and conjure your royal highneſs, that you would call back to your thoughts the moderation of your moſt ſerene predeceſſors, and the liberty by them granted and confirmed from time to time to their ſubjects the Vaudois. In granting and confirming which, as they did that which without all queſtion was moſt grateful to God, who has been pleaſed to reſerve the juriſdiction and power over the conſcience to himſelf alone, ſo there is no doubt, but that they had a due conſideration of their ſubjects alſo, whom they found ſtout and moſt faithful in war, and always obedient in peace. And as your royal Serenity in other things moſt laudably follows the footſteps of your immortal anceſtors, ſo we again and again beſeech your royal highneſs, not to ſwerve from the path wherein they trod in this particular; but that you would vouchſafe to abrogate both this edict, and whatſoever elſe may be decreed to the diſturbance of your ſubjects upon the account of the reformed religion; that you would ratify to them their conceded privileges and priſtine liberty, and command their loſſes to be repaired, and that an end be put to their oppreſſions. Which if your royal highneſs ſhall be pleaſed to ſee performed, you will do a thing moſt acceptable to God, revive and comfort the miſerable in dire calamity, and moſt highly oblige all your neighbours, that profeſs the reformed religion, but more eſpecially ourſelves, who ſhall be bound to look upon your clemency and benignity toward your ſubjects as the fruit of our earneſt ſolicitation. Which will both engage us to a reciprocal return of all good offices, and lay the ſolid foundations not only of eſtabliſhing, but

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increaſing alliance and friendſhip between this republic and your dominions. Nor do we leſs promiſe this to ourſelves from your juſtice and moderation; to which we beſeech Almighty God to incline your mind and thoughts. And ſo we cordially implore juſt Heaven to beſtow upon your highneſs and your people the bleſſings of peace and truth, and proſperous ſucceſs in all your affairs.

Whitehall, May— 1655.

OLIVER, Protector of the Republic of ENGLAND, to the moſt Serene Prince of TRANSILVANIA. Greeting.

Moſt Serene Prince,

BY your letters of the ſixteenth of November, ſixteen hundred and fifty four, you have made us ſenſible of your ſingular goodwill and affection towards us; and your envoy, who delivered thoſe letters to us, more amply declared your deſire of contracting alliance and friendſhip with us. Certainly for our parts we do not a little rejoice at this opportunity offered us, to declare and make manifeſt our affection to your highneſs, and how great a value we juſtly ſet upon your perſon. But after fame had reported to us your egregious merits and labours undertaken in behalf of the chriſtian republic, when you were pleaſed that all theſe things, and what you have farther in your thoughts to do in the defence and for promoting the chriſtian intereſt, ſhould be in friendly manner imparted to us by letters from yourſelf, this afforded us a more plentiful occaſion of joy and ſatisfaction, to hear that God, in thoſe remoter regions, had raiſed up to himſelf ſo potent and renowned a miniſter of his glory and providence: and that this great miniſter of heaven, ſo famed for his courage and ſucceſs, ſhould be deſirous to aſſociate with us in the common defence of the proteſtant religion, at this time wickedly aſſailed by words and deeds. Nor is it to be queſtioned but that God, who has infuſed into us both, though ſeparated by ſuch a ſpacious interval of many climates, the ſame deſires and thoughts of defend-

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ing the orthodox religion, will be our inſtructor and author of the ways and means whereby we may be aſſiſtant and uſeful to ourſelves and the reſt of the reformed cities; provided we watch all opportunities, that God ſhall put into our hands, and be not wanting to lay hold of them. In the mean time we cannot without an extreme and penetrating ſorrow forbear putting your highneſs in mind, how unmercifully the duke of Savoy has perſecuted his own ſubjects, profeſſing the orthodox faith, in certain valleys, at the feet of the Alps: whom he has not only conſtrained by a moſt ſevere edict, as many as refuſe to embrace the catholic religion, to forſake their native habitations, goods, and eſtates, but has fallen upon them with his army, put ſeveral moſt cruelly to the ſword, others more barbarouſly tormented to death, and driven the greateſt number to the mountains, there to be conſumed with cold and hunger, expoſing their houſes to the fury, and their goods to the plunder of his executioners. Theſe things, as they have already been related to your highneſs, ſo we readily aſſure ourſelves, that ſo much cruelty cannot but be grievouſly diſpleaſing to your ears, and that you will not be wanting to afford your aid and ſuccour to thoſe miſerable wretches, if there be any that ſurvive ſo many ſlaughters and calamities. For our parts, we have written to the duke of Savoy, beſeeching him to remove his incenſed anger from his ſubjects; as alſo to the king of France, that he would vouchſafe to do the ſame; and laſtly, to the princes of the reformed religion, to the end they might underſtand our ſentiments concerning ſo fell and ſavage a piece of cruelty. Which, though firſt begun upon thoſe poor and helpleſs people, however threatens all that profeſs the ſame religion, and therefore impoſes upon all a greater neceſſity of providing for themſelves in general, and conſulting the common ſafety; which is the courſe that we ſhall always follow, as God ſhall be pleaſed to direct us. Of which your highneſs may be aſſured, as alſo of our ſincerity and affection to your ſerenity, whereby we are engaged to wiſh all proſperous ſucceſs to your affairs, and a happy

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iſſue of all your enterpriſes and endeavours, in aſſerting the liberty of the goſpel, and the worſhippers of it.

Whitehall, May —, 1655.

OLIVER, Protector, to the moſt Serene Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, King of the SWEDES, Greeting.

WE make no queſtion, but that the fame of that moſt rigid edict has reached your dominions, whereby the duke of Savoy has totally ruined his proteſtant ſubjects inhabiting the Alpine valleys, and commanded them to be exterminated from their native ſeats and habitations, unleſs they will give ſecurity to renounce their religion received from their forefathers, in exchange for the Roman catholic ſuperſtition, and that within twenty days at fartheſt; ſo that many being killed, the reſt ſtripped to their ſkins, and expoſed to moſt certain deſtruction, are now forced to wander over deſert mountains, and through perpetual winter, together with their wives and children, half dead with cold and hunger: and that your majeſty has laid it to heart, with a pious ſorrow and compaſſionate conſideration, we as little doubt. For that the proteſtant name and cauſe, although they differ among themſelves in ſome things of little conſequence, is nevertheleſs the ſame in general, and united in one common intereſt; the hatred of our adverſaries, alike incenſed againſt proteſtants, very eaſily demonſtrates. Now there is no body can be ignorant, that the kings of the Swedes have always joined with the reformed, carrying their victorious arms into Germany in defence of the proteſtants without diſtinction. Therefore we make it our chief requeſt, and that in a more eſpecial manner to your majeſty, that you would ſolicit the duke of Savoy by letters; and, by interpoſing your intermediating authority, endeavour to avert the horrid cruelty of this edict, if poſſible, from people no leſs innocent than religious. For we think it ſuperfluous to admoniſh your majeſty whither theſe rigorous beginnings tend, and what they threaten to all the proteſtants in general. But if he rather chooſe to liſten to his anger, than to our joint entreaties and interceſſions; if there

there be any tie, any charity or communion of religion to be believed and worſhipped, upon conſultations duly firſt communicated to your majeſty, and the chief of the proteſtant princes, ſome other courſe is to be ſpeedily taken, that ſuch a numerous multitude of our innocent brethren may not miſerably periſh for want of ſuccour and aſſiſtance. Which, in regard we make no queſtion but that it is your majeſty's opinion and determination, there can be nothing in our opinion more prudently reſolved, than to join our reputation, authority, counſels, forces, and whatever elſe is needful, with all the ſpeed that may be, in purſuance of ſo pious a deſign. In the mean time, we beſeech Almighty God to bleſs your majeſty.

OLIVER, Protector, &c., to the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the UNITED PROVINCES.

WE make no queſtion, but that you have already been informed of the duke of Savoy's edict, ſet forth againſt his ſubjects inhabiting the valleys at the feet of the Alps, ancient profeſſors of the orthodox faith; by which edict, they are commanded to abandon their native habitations, ſtripped of all their fortunes, unleſs within twenty days they embrace the Roman faith; and with what cruelty the authority of this edict has raged againſt a needy and harmleſs people, many being ſlain by the ſoldiers, the reſt plundered and driven from their houſes, together with their wives and children, to combat cold and hunger among deſert mountains, and perpetual ſnow. Theſe things with what commotion of mind you heard related, what a fellow-feeling of the calamities of brethren pierced your breaſts, we readily conjectured from the depth of our own ſorrow, which certainly is moſt heavy and afflictive. For being engaged together by the ſame tie of religion, no wonder we ſhould be ſo deeply moved with the ſame affections upon the dreadful and undeſerved ſufferings of our brethren. Beſides, that your conſpicuous piety and charity toward the orthodox, wherever overborn and oppreſſed, has been frequently experienced in the moſt urging

urging ſtraits and calamities of the churches. For my own part, unleſs my thoughts deceive me, there is nothing wherein I ſhould deſire more willingly to be overcome, that in goodwill and charity, toward brethren of the ſame religion, afflicted and wronged in their quiet enjoyments; as being one that would be accounted always ready to prefer the peace and ſafety of the churches before my particular intereſts. So far therefore as hitherto lay in our power, we have written to the duke of Savoy, even almoſt to ſupplication, beſeeching him, that he would admit into his breaſt more placid thoughts and kinder effects of his favour toward his moſt innocent ſubjects and ſuppliants; that he would reſtore the miſerable to their habitations and eſtates, and grant them their priſtine freedom in the exerciſe of their religion. Moreover, we wrote to the chiefeſt princes and magiſtrates of the proteſtants, whom we thought moſt nearly concerned in theſe matters, that they would lend us their aſſiſtance to entreat and pacify the duke of Savoy in their behalf. And we make no doubt now but you have done the ſame, and perhaps much more. For this ſo dangerous a precedent, and lately renewed ſeverity of utmoſt cruelty toward the reformed, if the authors of it meet with proſperous ſucceſs, to what apparent dangers it reduces our religion, we need not admoniſh your prudence. On the other ſide, if the duke ſhall once but permit himſelf to be atoned and won by our united applications, not only our afflicted brethren, but we ourſelves ſhall reap the noble and abounding harveſt and reward of this laborious undertaking. But if he ſtill perſiſt in the ſame obſtinate reſolutions of reducing to utmoſt extremity thoſe people, (among whom our religion was either diſſeminated by the firſt doctors of the goſpel, and preſerved from the defilement of ſuperſtition, or elſe reſtored to its priſtine ſincerity long before other nations obtained that felicity,) and determines their utter extirpation and deſtruction; we are ready to take ſuch other courſe and councils with yourſelves, in common with the reſt of our reformed friends and confederates, as may be moſt neceſſary for the preſervation of juſt and good

good men, upon the brink of inevitable ruin; and to make the duke himſelf ſenſible, that we can no longer neglect the heavy oppreſſions and calamities of our orthodox brethren. Farewel.

To the Evangelic Cities of SWITZERLAND.

WE make no queſtion, but the late calamity of the Piedmontois, profeſſing our religion, reached your ears before the unwelcome news of it arrived with us: who being a people under the protection and juriſdiction of the duke of Savoy, and by a ſevere edict of their prince commanded to depart their native habitations, unleſs within three days they gave ſecurity to embrace the Roman religion, ſoon after were aſſailed by armed violence, that turned their dwellings into ſlaughterhouſes, while others, without number, were terrified into baniſhment, where now naked and afflicted, without houſe or home, or any covering from the weather, and ready to periſh through hunger and cold, they miſerably wander thorough deſert mountains, and depths of ſnow, together with their wives and children. And far leſs reaſon have we to doubt, but that ſo ſoon as they came to your knowledge, you laid theſe things to heart, with a compaſſion no leſs ſenſible of their multiplied miſeries than ourſelves; the more deeply imprinted perhaps in your minds, as being next neighbours to the ſufferers. Beſides, that we have abundant proof of your ſingular love and affection for the orthodox faith, of your conſtancy in retaining it, and your fortitude in defending it. Seeing then, by the moſt ſtrict communion of religion, that you, together with ourſelves, are all brethren alike, or rather one body with thoſe unfortunate people; of which no member can be afflicted without the feeling, without pain, without the detriment and hazard of the reſt; we thought it convenient to write to your lordſhips concerning this matter, and let you underſtand, how much we believe it to be the general intereſt of us all, as much as in us lies, with our common aid and ſuccour to relieve our exterminated and indigent brethren; and not only to take care for removing their

miſeries and afflictions, but alſo to provide, that the miſchief ſpread no farther, nor encroach upon ourſelves in general, encouraged by example and ſucceſs. We have written letters to the duke of Savoy, wherein we have moſt earneſtly beſought him, out of his wonted clemency, to deal more gently and mildly with his moſt faithful ſubjects, and to reſtore them, almoſt ruined as they are, to their goods and habitations. And we are in hopes, that by theſe our entreaties, or rather by the united interceſſions of us all, the moſt ſerene prince at length will be atoned, and grant what we have requeſted with ſo much importunity. But if his mind be obſtinately bent to other determinations, we are ready to communicate our conſultations with yours, by what moſt prevalent means to relieve and reeſtabliſh moſt innocent men, and our moſt dearly beloved brethren in Chriſt, tormented and overlaid with ſo many wrongs and oppreſſions; and preſerve them from inevitable and undeſerved ruin. Of whoſe welfare and ſafety, as I am aſſured, that you, according to your wonted piety, are moſt cordially tender; ſo for our own parts, we cannot but in our opinion prefer their preſervation before our moſt important intereſts, even the ſafeguard of our own life. Farewel.

Weſtminſter, O. P.
May 19, 1655.

Superſcribed, To the moſt Illuſtrious and Potent Lords, the Conſuls and Senators of the Proteſtant Cantons and Confederate Cities of Switzerland, Greeting.

To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS, King of FRANCE.

Moſt Serene and Potent King;

BY your majeſty's letters, which you wrote in anſwer to ours of the twenty fifth of May, we readily underſtand, that we failed not in our judgment, that the inhuman ſlaughter, and barbarous maſſacres of thoſe men, who profeſs the reformed religion in Savoy, perpetrated

petrated by ſome of your regiments, were the effects neither of your orders nor commands. And it afforded us a ſingular occaſion of joy, to hear that your majeſty had ſo timely ſignified to your colonels and officers, whoſe violent precipitancy engaged them in thoſe inhuman butcheries, without the encouragement of lawful allowance, how diſpleaſing they were to your majeſty; that you had admoniſhed the duke himſelf to forbear ſuch acts of cruelty; and that you had interpoſed with ſo much fidelity and humanity all the high veneration paid you in that court, your near alliance and authority, for reſtoring to their ancient abodes thoſe unfortunate exiles. And it was our hopes, that that prince would in ſome meaſure have condeſcended to the good pleaſure and interceſſions of your majeſty. But finding not any thing obtained, either by your own, nor the entreaties and importunities of other princes in the cauſe of the diſtreſſed, we deemed it not foreign from our duty, to ſend this noble perſon, under the character of our extraordinary envoy, to the duke of Savoy, more amply and fully to lay before him, how deeply ſenſible we are of ſuch exaſperated cruelties inflicted upon the profeſſors of the ſame religion with ourſelves, and all this too out of a hatred of the ſame worſhip. And we have reaſon to hope a ſucceſs of this negotiation ſo much the more proſperous, if your majeſty would vouchſafe to employ your authority and aſſiſtance once again with ſo much the more urgent importunity; and as you have undertaken for thoſe indigent people, that they will be faithful and obedient to their prince, ſo you would be graciouſly pleaſed to take care of their welfare and ſafety, that no farther oppreſſions of this nature, no more ſuch diſmal calamities may be the portion of the innocent and peaceful. This being truly royal and juſt in itſelf, and highly agreeable to your benignity and clemency, which every where protects in ſoft ſecurity ſo many of your ſubjects profeſſing the ſame religion, we cannot but expect, as it behoves us, from your majeſty. Which act of yours, as it will more cloſely bind to your ſubjection all the proteſtants throughout your ſpacious dominions, whoſe affection

and fidelity to your predeceſſors and yourſelf in moſt important diſtreſſes have been often conſpicuouſly made known: ſo will it fully convince all foreign princes, that the advice or intention of your majeſty were no way contributory to this prodigious violence, whatever inflamed your miniſters and officers to promote it. More eſpecially, if your majeſty ſhall inflict deſerved puniſhment upon thoſe captains and miniſters, who of their own authority, and to gratify their own wills, adventured the perpetrating ſuch dreadful acts of inhumanity. In the mean while, ſince your majeſty has aſſured us of your juſtly merited averſion to theſe moſt inhuman and cruel proceedings, we doubt not but you will afford a ſecure ſanctuary and ſhelter within your kingdom to all thoſe miſerable exiles, that ſhall fly to your majeſty for protection; and that you will not give permiſſion to any of your ſubjects, to aſſiſt the duke of Savoy to their prejudice. It remains that we make known to your majeſty, how highly we eſteem and value your friendſhip: in teſtimony of which, we farther affirm, there ſhall never be wanting upon all occaſions the real aſſurances and effects of our proteſtation.

Your majeſty's moſt affectionate,

Whitehall, July 29, 1655. OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

To the moſt Eminent Lord, Cardinal MAZARINE.

Moſt Eminent Lord Cardinal,

HAVING deemed it neceſſary to ſend this noble perſon to the king with letters, a copy of which is here encloſed, we gave him alſo farther in charge, to ſalute your excellency in our name, as having entruſted to his fidelity certain other matters to be communicated to your eminency. In reference to which affairs, I entreat your eminency to give him entire credit, as being a perſon in whom I have repoſed a more than ordinary confidence.

Your eminency's moſt affectionate,

Whitehall, July 29, 1655. OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, To the most Serene Prince, FREDERIC III., King of DENMARK, NORWAY, &c.

WITH what a severe and unmerciful edict Immanuel duke of Savoy has expelled from their native seats his subjects inhabiting the valleys of Piedmont, men otherwise harmless, only for many years remarkably famous for embracing the purity of religion; and after a dreadful slaughter of some numbers, how he has exposed the rest to the hardships of those desert mountains, stripped to their skins, and barred from all relief, we believe your majesty has long since heard, and doubt not but your majesty is touched with a real commiseration of their sufferings, as becomes so puissant a defender and prince of the reformed faith: for indeed the institutions of christian religion require, that whatever mischiefs and miseries any part of us undergo, it should behove us all to be deeply sensible of the same: nor does any man better than your majesty foresee, if we may be thought able to give a right conjecture of your piety and prudence, what dangers the success and example of this fact portend to ourselves in particular, and to the whole protestant name in general. We have written the more willingly to yourself, to the end we might assure your majesty, that the same sorrow, which we hope you have conceived for the calamity of our most innocent brethren, the same opinion, the same judgment you have of the whole matter, is plainly and sincerely our own. We have therefore sent our letters to the duke of Savoy, wherein we have most importunately besought him, to spare those miserable people, that implore his mercy, and that he would no longer suffer that dreadful edict to be in force: which if your majesty and the rest of the reformed princes would vouchsafe to do, as we are apt to believe they have already done, there is some hope, that the anger of the most serene duke may be assuaged, and that his indignation will relent upon the intercession and importunities of his neighbour princes. Or if he persist in his determinations, we protest ourselves ready, together with your majesty, and the rest

of our confederates of the reformed religion, to take ſuch ſpeedy methods, as may enable us, as far as in us lies, to relieve the diſtreſſes of ſo many miſerable creatures, and provide for their liberty and ſafety. In the mean time we beſeech Almighty God to bleſs your majeſty with all proſperity.

Whitehall, May —, 1655.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Noble the Conſuls and Senators of the City of GENEVA.

WE had before made known to your lordſhips our exceſſive ſorrow for the heavy and unheard of calamities of the proteſtants, inhabiting the valleys of Piedmont, whom the duke of Savoy perſecutes with ſo much cruelty; but that we made it our buſineſs, that you ſhould at the ſame time underſtand, that we are not only affected with the multitude of their ſufferings, but are uſing the utmoſt of our endeavours to relieve and comfort them in their diſtreſſes. To that purpoſe we have taken care for a gathering of alms to be made throughout this whole republic; which upon good grounds we expect will be ſuch, as will demonſtrate the affection of this nation toward their brethren, labouring under the burden of ſuch horrid inhumanities; and that as the communion of religion is the ſame between both people, ſo the ſenſe of their calamities is no leſs the ſame. In the mean time, while the collections of the money go forward, which in regard they will require ſome time to accompliſh, and for that the wants and neceſſities of thoſe deplorable people will admit of no delay, we thought it requiſite to remit before-hand two thouſand pounds of the value of England with all poſſible ſpeed, to be diſtributed among ſuch as ſhall be judged to be moſt in preſent need of comfort and ſuccour. Now in regard we are not ignorant how deeply the miſeries and wrongs of thoſe moſt innocent people have affected yourſelves, and that you will not think amiſs of any labour or pains where you can be aſſiſting to their relief, we made no ſcruple to commit the paying and diſtributing

diſtributing this ſum of money to your care; and to give ye this farther trouble, that according to your wonted piety and prudence, you would take care, that the ſaid money may be diſtributed equally to the moſt neceſſitous, to the end that though the ſum be ſmall, yet there may be ſomething to refreſh and revive the moſt poor and needy, till we can afford them a more plentiful ſupply. And thus, not making any doubt but you will take in good part the trouble impoſed upon ye, we beſeech Almighty God to ſtir up the hearts of all his people profeſſing the orthodox religion, to reſolve upon the common defence of themſelves, and the mutual aſſiſtance of each other againſt their imbittered and moſt implacable enemies: in the proſecution of which, we ſhould rejoice that our helping hand might be any way ſerviceable to the church. Farewel.

Fifteen hundred pounds of the foreſaid two thouſand will be remitted by Gerard Hench from Paris, and the other five hundred pounds will be taken care of by letters from the lord Stoup.

June 8, 1655.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene Prince, the Duke of VENICE.

Moſt Serene Prince,

AS it has been always a great occaſion of rejoicing to us, whenever any proſperous ſucceſs attended your arms, but more eſpecially againſt the common enemy of the chriſtian name; ſo neither are we ſorry for the late advantage gained by your fleet, though, as we underſtand, it happened not a little to the detriment of our people: for certain of our merchants, William and Daniel Williams, and Edward Beale, have ſet forth in a petition preſented to us, that a ſhip of theirs, called the Great Prince, was lately ſent by them with goods and merchandize to Conſtantinople, where the ſaid ſhip was detained by the miniſters of the Port, to carry ſoldiers and proviſions to Crete; and that the ſaid ſhip being conſtrained to ſail

along with the ſame fleet of the Turks, which was ſet upon and vanquiſhed by the galleys of the Venetians, was taken, carried away to Venice, and there adjudged lawful prize by the judges of the admiralty. Now therefore in regard the ſaid ſhip was preſſed by the Turks, and forced into their ſervice without the knowledge or conſent of the owners directly or indirectly obtained, and that it was impoſſible for her, being ſhipped with ſoldiers, to withdraw from the engagement, we moſt earneſtly requeſt your ſerenity, that you will remit that ſentence of your admiralty, as a preſent to our friendſhip, and take ſuch care, that the ſhip may be reſtored to the owners, no way deſerving the diſpleaſure of your republic by any act of theirs. In the obtaining of which requeſt, more eſpecially upon our interceſſion; while we find the merchants themſelves ſo well aſſured of your clemency, it behoves us not to queſtion it. And ſo we beſeech the Almighty God to continue his proſperous bleſſings upon your noble deſigns, and the Venetian republic.

Your Serenity's and the Venetian Republic's moſt affectionate,

Weſtminſter, Decemb. — 1655.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene Prince, LEWIS, King of FRANCE.

Moſt Serene King,

CERTAIN of our merchants, by name Samuel Mico, William Cockain, George Poyner, and ſeveral others, in a petition to us have ſet forth, That in the year 1650, they laded a ſhip of theirs, called the Unicorn, with goods of a very conſiderable value; and that the ſaid ſhip being thus laden with ſilk, oil, and other merchandize, amounting to above thirty four thouſand of our pounds, was taken by the admiral and viceadmiral of your majeſty's fleet in the Mediterranean ſea. Now it appears to us, that our people who were then in the

ſhip, by reaſon there was at that time a peace between the French and us, that never had been violated in the leaſt, were not willing to make any defence againſt your majeſty's royal ſhips, and therefore, overruled beſides by the fair promiſes of the captains Paul and Terrery, who faithfully engaged to diſmiſs our people, they paid their obedience to the maritime laws, and produced their bills of lading. Moreover, we find that the merchants aforeſaid ſent their agent into France, to demand reſtitution of the ſaid ſhip and goods: and then it was, that after above three years ſlipped away, when the ſuit was brought ſo far, that ſentence of reſtitution or condemnation was to have been given, that his eminency cardinal Mazarine acknowledged to their factor Hugh Morel, the wrong that had been done the merchants, and undertook that ſatisfaction ſhould be given, ſo ſoon as the league between the two nations, which was then under negotiation, ſhould be ratified and confirmed. Nay, ſince that, his excellency M. de Bourdeaux, your majeſty's embaſſador, aſſured us in expreſs words, by the command of your majeſty and your council, That care ſhould be taken of that ſhip and goods in a particular exception, apart from thoſe controverſies, for the deciſion of which a general proviſion was made by the league; of which promiſe, the embaſſador, now opportunely arrived here to ſolicit ſome buſineſs of his own, is a teſtimony no way to be queſtioned. Which being true, and the right of the merchants in redemanding their ſhip and goods ſo undeniably apparent, we moſt earneſtly requeſt your majeſty, that they may meet with no delay in obtaining what is juſtly their due, but that your majeſty will admit the grant of this favour, as the firſt fruits of our revived amity, and the lately renewed league between us. The refuſal of which as we have no reaſon to doubt, ſo we beſeech Almighty God to bleſs with all proſperity both your majeſty and your kingdom.

Your majeſty's moſt affectionate,

Weſtminſter, Dec. — 1655.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.

To the Evangelic Cities of SWITZERLAND.

IN what condition your affairs are, which is not the beſt, we are abundantly informed, as well by your public acts tranſmitted to us by our agent at Geneva, as alſo by your letters from Zuric, bearing date the twenty ſeventh of December. Whereby, although we are ſorry to find your peace, and ſuch a laſting league of confederacy broken; nevertheleſs ſince it appears to have happened through no fault of yours, we are in hopes that the iniquity and perverſeneſs of your adverſaries are contriving new occaſions for ye to make known your long ago experienced fortitude and reſolution in defence of the Evangelic faith. For as for thoſe of the canton of Schwitz, who account it a capital crime for any perſon to embrace our religion, what they are might and main deſigning, and whoſe inſtigations have incenſed them to reſolutions of hoſtility againſt the orthodox religion, no body can be ignorant, who has not yet forgot that moſt deteſtable ſlaughter of our brethren in Piedmont. Wherefore, moſt beloved friends, what you were always wont to be, with God's aſſiſtance ſtill continue, magnanimous and reſolute; ſuffer not your privileges, your confederacies, the liberty of your conſciences, your religion itſelf to be trampled under foot by the worſhippers of idols; and ſo prepare yourſelves, that you may not ſeem to be the defenders only of your own freedom and ſafety, but be ready likewiſe to aid and ſuccour, as far as in you lies, your neighbouring brethren, more eſpecially thoſe moſt deplorable Piedmontois; as being certainly convinced of this, that a paſſage was lately intended to have been opened over their ſlaughtered bodies to your ſides. As for our part be aſſured, that we are no leſs anxious and ſolicitous for your welfare and proſperity, than if this conflagration had broken forth in our republic; or as if the axes of the Schwitz Canton had been ſharpened for our necks, or that their ſwords had been drawn againſt our breaſts, as indeed they were againſt the boſoms of all the reformed. Therefore ſo ſoon as we were informed of the condition of your

your affairs, and the obſtinate animoſities of your enemies, adviſing with ſome ſincere and honeſt perſons, together with ſome miniſters of the church moſt eminent for their piety, about ſending to your aſſiſtance ſuch ſuccour as the preſent poſture of our affairs would permit, we came to thoſe reſults which our envoy Pell will impart to your conſideration. In the mean time we ceaſe not to implore the bleſſing of the Almighty upon all your counſels, and the protection of your moſt juſt cauſe, as well in war as in peace.

Your lordſhips and worſhips moſt affectionate,

Weſtminſter, Jan.—1655. OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, by the Grace of God King of the SWEDES, GOTHS and VANDALS, Great Prince of FINLAND, &c.

Moſt Serene King,

SEEING it is a thing well known to all men, that there ought to be a communication of concerns among friends, whether in proſperity or adverſity; it cannot but be moſt grateful to us, that your majeſty ſhould vouchſafe to impart unto us by your letters the moſt pleaſing and delightful part of your friendſhip, which is your joy. In regard it is a mark of ſingular civility, and truly royal, as not to live only to a man's ſelf, ſo neither to rejoice alone, unleſs he be ſenſible that his friends and confederates partake of his gladneſs. Certainly then, we have reaſon to rejoice for the birth of the young prince born to ſuch an excellent king, and ſent into the world to be the heir of his father's glory and virtue; and this at ſuch a lucky ſeaſon, that we have no leſs cauſe to congratulate the royal parent with the memorable omen that befell the famous Philip of Macedon, who at the ſame time received the tidings of Alexander's birth, and the conqueſt of the Illyrians. For we make no queſtion, but the wreſting of the kingdom of Poland from papal ſubjection,

ſubjection, as it were a horn diſmembered from the head of the beaſt, and the peace, ſo much deſired by all good men, concluded with the duke of Brandenburgh, will be moſt highly conducing to the tranquillity and advantage of the church. Heaven grant a concluſion correſpondent to ſuch ſignal beginnings; and may the ſon be like the father in virtue, piety, and renown, obtained by great achievements. Which is that we wiſh may luckily come to paſs, and which we beg of the Almighty, ſo propitious hitherto to your affairs.

Your majeſty's moſt affectionate,
Weſtminſter, Feb.—1655. OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

To the King of DENMARK.

Moſt Serene and Potent Prince,

JOHN Freeman and Philip Traveſs, citizens of this republic, by a petition preſented to us, in their own and the name of ſeveral other merchants of London, have made a complaint, That whereas about the month of March in the year 1653, they freighted a certain ſhip of Sunderburg, called the Saviour, Nicholas Weinſkinks maſter, with woollen cloth, and other commodities to the value of above three thouſand pound, with orders to the maſter, that he ſhould ſail directly up the Baltic for Dantzic, paying the uſual tribute at Elſenore, to which purpoſe in particular they gave him money: nevertheleſs that the ſaid maſter, perfidiouſly and contrary to the orders of the ſaid merchants, ſlipping by Elſenore without paying the uſual duty, thought to have proceeded in his voyage, but that the ſhip for this reaſon was immediately ſeized and detained with all her lading. After due conſideration of which complaints, we wrote in favour of the merchants to your majeſty's embaſſador reſiding at London, who promiſed, as they ſay, that as ſoon as he returned to your majeſty, he would take care that the merchants ſhould be taken into conſideration. But he being ſent to negotiate your majeſty's affairs in other countries, the merchants attended upon him in vain,

vain, both before and after his departure; ſo that they were forced to ſend their agent to proſecute their right and claim at Copenhagen, and demand reſtitution of the ſhip and goods; but all the benefit they reaped by it was only to add more expenſes to their former damages, and a great deal of labour and pains thrown away; the goods being condemned to confiſcation, and ſtill detained: whereas by the law of Denmark, as they ſet forth in their petition, the maſter is to be puniſhed for his offence, and the ſhip to be condemned but not the goods. And they look upon this misfortune to lie the more heavy upon them, in regard the duty which is to be paid at Elſenore, as they tell us, is but very ſmall. Wherefore ſeeing our merchants ſeem to have given no cauſe of proſcription, and for that the maſter confeſſed before his death, that this damage befel them only through his neglect; and the father of the maſter deceaſed, by his petition to your majeſty, as we are given to underſtand, by laying all the blame on his ſon, has acquitted the merchants; we could not but believe the detaining of the ſaid ſhip and goods to be moſt unjuſt; and therefore we are confident, that ſo ſoon as your majeſty ſhall be rightly informed of the whole matter, you will not only diſapprove of theſe oppreſſions of your miniſters, but give command that they be called to an account, that the goods be reſtored to the owners or their factors, and reparation made them for the loſſes they have ſuſtained. All which we moſt earneſtly requeſt of your majeſty, as being no more than what is ſo juſt and conſentaneous to reaſon, that a more equitable demand, or more legal ſatisfaction cannot well be made, conſidering the juſtice of our merchants cauſe, and which your own ſubjects would think but fair and honeſt upon the like occaſions.

To the moſt Serene Prince, JOHN the Fourth, King of PORTUGAL, &c.

Moſt Serene King,

THE peace and friendſhip which your majeſty deſired, by your noble and ſplendid embaſſy ſent to us ſome time ſince, after certain negotiations begun by the parliament

in

in whom the ſupreme power was veſted at that time, as it was always moſt affectionately wiſhed for by us, with the aſſiſtance of God, and that we might not be wanting in the adminiſtration of the government which we have now taken upon us, at length we brought to a happy concluſion, and as we hope, as a ſacred act, have ratified it to perpetuity. And therefore we ſend back to your majeſty your extraordinary embaſſador, the lord John Roderigo de Sita Meneſes, count of Pennaguiada, a perſon both approved by your majeſty's judgment, and by us experienced to excel in civility, ingenuity, prudence and fidelity, beſides the merited applauſe which he has juſtly gained by accompliſhing the ends of his embaſſy, which is the peace which he carries along with him to his country. But as to what we perceive by your letters dated from Liſbon the ſecond of April, that is to ſay, how highly your majeſty eſteems our amity, how cordially you favour our advancement, and rejoice at our having taken the government of the republic upon us, which you are pleaſed to manifeſt by ſingular teſtimonies of kindneſs and affection, we ſhall make it our buſineſs, that all the world may underſtand, by our readineſs at all times to ſerve your majeſty, that there could be nothing more acceptable or grateful to us. Nor are we leſs earneſt in our prayers to God for your majeſty's ſafety, the welfare of your kingdom, and the proſperous ſucceſs of your affairs.

Your majeſty's moſt affectionate,
OLIVER, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the High and Mighty States of the UNITED PROVINCES.

Moſt High and Mighty Lords, our deareſt Friends;

CERTAIN merchants, our countrymen, Thomas Baſſel, Richard Beare, and others their copartners, have made their complaints before us, that a certain ſhip of theirs, the Edmund and John, in her voyage from the coaſt of Braſil to Liſbon, was ſet upon by a privateer of Fluſhing,

Fluſhing, called the Red Lion, commanded by Lambert Bartelſon, but upon this condition, which the writing ſigned by Lambert himſelf teſtifies, that the ſhip and whatſoever goods belonged to the Engliſh ſhould be reſtored at Fluſhing: where when the veſſel arrived, the ſhip indeed with what peculiarly belonged to the ſeamen was reſtored, but the Engliſh merchants goods were detained and put forthwith to ſale: for the merchants who had received the damage, when they had ſued for their goods in the court of Fluſhing, after great expenſes for five years together, loſt their ſuit by the pronouncing of a moſt unjuſt ſentence againſt them by thoſe judges, of which ſome, being intereſted in the privateer, were both judges and adverſaries, and no leſs criminal altogether. So that now they have no other hopes but only in your equity and uncorrupted faith, to which at laſt they fly for ſuccour: and which they believed they ſhould find the more inclinable to do them juſtice, if aſſiſted by our recommendation. And men are ſurely to be pardoned, if, afraid of all things in ſo great a ſtruggle for their eſtates, they rather call to mind what they have reaſon to fear from your authority and high power, than what they have to hope well of their cauſe, eſpecially before ſincere and upright judges: though for our parts we make no queſtion, but that induced by your religion, your juſtice, your integrity, rather than by our intreaties, you will give that judgment which is juſt and equal, and truly becoming yourſelves. God preſerve both you and your republic to his own glory, and the defence and ſuccour of his church.

Weſtminſter,
April 1, 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND, &c., To the moſt Serene, Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS, Great Prince of FINLAND, Duke of ESTHONIA, CARELIA, BREME, VERDEN, STETTIN, POMERANIA, CASSUBIA, and VANDALIA, Prince of RUGIA, Lord of INGRIA and WISMARIA, Count PALATINE of the RHINE, Duke of BAVARIA, JULIERS, CLEVES and MONTS.

Moſt Serene Prince,

PETER Julius Coict having accompliſhed the affairs of his embaſſy with us, and ſo acquitted himſelf, that he is not by us to be diſmiſſed without the ornament of his deſerved praiſes, is now returning to your majeſty. For he was moſt acceptable to us, as well and chiefly for your own ſake, which ought with us to be of high conſideration, as for his own deſerts in the diligent acquittal of his truſt. The recommendation therefore which we received from you in his behalf, we freely teſtify to have been made good by him, and deſervedly given by yourſelf; as he on the other ſide is able with the ſame fidelity and integrity, to relate and moſt truly to declare our ſingular affection and obſervance toward your majeſty. It remains for us to beſeech the moſt merciful and all powerful God, to bleſs your majeſty with all felicity, and a perpetual courſe of victory over all the enemies of his church.

Your majeſty's moſt affectionate,

Weſtminſter, April 17, 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS, King of FRANCE.

Moſt Serene Prince,

JOHN DETHIC, mayor of the city of London for this year, and William Wakefield merchant, have made their addreſſes to us by way of petition, complaining, that

that about the middle of October, ſixteen hundred and forty nine, they freighted a certain ſhip called the Jonas of London, Jonas Lightfoot maſter, with goods that were to be ſent to Oſtend; which veſſel was taken in the mouth of the river Thames, by one White of Barking, a pirate, robbing upon the ſeas by virtue of a commiſſion from the ſon of King Charles deceaſed, and carried to Dunkirk, then under the juriſdiction of the French. Now in regard that by your majeſty's edict in the year ſixteen hundred and forty ſeven, renewed in ſixteen hundred and forty nine, and by ſome other decrees in favour of the parliament of England, as they find it recorded, it was enacted, that no veſſel or goods taken from the Engliſh, in the time of that war, ſhould be carried into any of your majeſty's ports to be there put to ſale; they preſently ſent their factor Hugh Morel to Dunkirk, to demand reſtitution of the ſaid ſhip and goods from M. Leſtrade then governor of the town; more eſpecially finding them in the place for the moſt part untouched, and neither exchanged or ſold. To which the governor made anſwer, that the king had beſtowed that government upon him of his free gift or ſervice done the king in his wars, and therefore he ſwould take care to make the beſt of the reward of hi labour. So that having little to hope from an anſwer ſo unkind and unjuſt, after a great expenſe of time and money, the factor returned home. So that all the remaining hopes, which the petitioners have, ſeem wholly to depend upon your majeſty's juſtice and clemency, to which they thought they might have the more eaſy acceſs by means of our letters; and therefore that neither your clemency nor your juſtice may be wanting to people deſpoiled againſt all law and reaſon, and contrary to your repeated prohibitions, we make it out requeſt. Wherein, if your majeſty vouchſafe to gratify us, ſince there is nothing required but what is moſt juſt and equitable, we ſhall deem it as obtained rather from your innate integrity, than any entreaty of ours.

Weſtminſter, May—, 1656. Your majeſty's moſt affectionate, OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the UNITED PROVINCES.

Moſt High and Mighty Lords, our deareſt Friends;

JOHN BROWN, Nicholas Williams, and others, citizens of London, have ſet forth in their petitions to us, that when they had every one brought in their proportions, and freighted a certain ſhip called the Good Hope of London, bound for the Eaſt Indies, they gave orders to their factor, to take up at Amſterdam two thouſand four hundred Dutch pounds, to enſure the ſaid ſhip; that afterwards this ſhip, in her voyage to the coaſt of India, was taken by a ſhip belonging to the Eaſt India company; upon which they who had engaged to enſure the ſaid veſſel refuſed to pay the money, and have for this ſix years by various delays eluded our merchants, who with extraordinary diligence, and at vaſt expenſes, endeavoured the recovery of their juſt right. Which in regard it is an unjuſt grievance, that lies ſo heavy upon the petitioners, for that ſome of thoſe who obliged themſelves are dead or become inſolvent; therefore that no farther loſſes may accrue to their former damages, we make it our earneſt requeſt to your lordſhips, that you will vouchſafe your integrity to be the harbour and refuge for people toſſed ſo many years, and almoſt ſhipwrecked in your courts of juſtice, and that ſpeedy judgment may be given according to the rules of equity and honeſty in their cauſe, which they believe to be moſt juſt. In the mean time we wiſh you all proſperity to the glory of God, and the welfare of his church.

Your high and mighty lordſhips moſt affectionate,

Weſtminſter, May —, 1656. OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the UNITED PROVINCES.

Moſt High and Mighty Lords, our deareſt Friends;

THE ſame perſons in whoſe behalf we wrote to your lordſhips in September the laſt year, Thomas and William Lower, the lawful heirs of Nicholas Lower deceaſed, make grievious complaints before us, that they are oppreſſed either by the favour or wealth of their adverſaries, notwithſtanding the juſtice of their cauſe; and when that would not ſuffice, although our letters were often pleaded in their behalf, they have not been able hitherto to obtain poſſeſſion of the inheritance left them by their father's will. From the court of Holland, where the ſuit was firſt commenced, they were ſent to your court, and from thence hurried away into Zealand, (to which three places they carried our letters) and now they are remanded, not unwillingly, back again to your ſupreme judicature; for where the ſupreme power is, there they expect ſupreme juſtice. If that hope fail them, eluded and fruſtrated, after being ſo long toſſed from poſt to pillar for the recovery of their right, where at length to find a reſting place they know not. For as for our letters, if they find no benefit of theſe the fourth time written, they can never promiſe themſelves any advantage for the future from ſlighted papers. However, it would be moſt acceptable to us, if yet at length, after ſo many contempts, the injured heirs might meet with ſome relief by a ſpeedy and juſt judgment, if not out of reſpect to any reputation we have among ye, yet out of a regard to your own equity and juſtice. Of the laſt of which we make no queſtion, and confidently preſume you will allow the other to our friendſhip.

Your high and mighty lordſhips moſt affectionate,

Weſtminſter, May —, 1656. OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene Prince, JOHN, King of PORTUGAL.

Moſt Serene King,

WHEREAS there is a conſiderable ſum of money owing from certain Portugal merchants of the Braſile company to ſeveral Engliſh merchants, upon the account of freightage and demorage, in the years ſixteen hundred and forty nine and ſixteen hundred and fifty, which money is detained by the ſaid company by your majeſty's command, the merchants before mentioned expected, that the ſaid money ſhould have been paid long ſince according to the articles of the laſt league, but now they are afraid of being debarred all hopes and means of recovering their debts; underſtanding your majeſty has ordered, that what money is owing to them by the Braſile company ſhall be carried into your treaſury, and that no more than one half of the duty of freightage ſhall be expended toward the payment of their debts; by which means the merchants will receive no more than the bare intereſt of their money, while at the ſame time they utterly loſe their principal. Which we conſidering to be very ſevere and heavy upon them, and being overcome by their moſt reaſonable ſupplications, have granted them theſe our letters to your majeſty; chiefly requeſting this at your hands, to take care that the aforeſaid Braſile company may give ſpeedy ſatisfaction to the merchants of this republic, and pay them not only the principal money which is owing to them, but the five years intereſt; as being both juſt in itſelf, and conformable to the league ſo lately concluded between us; which on their behalf in moſt friendly manner we requeſt from your majeſty.

Your majeſty's moſt affectionate,

From our palace at Weſtminſter, July —, 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth, &c.

OLIVER,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS, &c.

Moſt Serene King,

AS it is but juſt that we ſhould highly value the friendſhip of your majeſty, a prince ſo potent and ſo renowned for great achievements; ſo is it but equally reaſonable that your extraordinary embaſſador, the moſt illuſtrious lord Chriſtiern Bond, by whoſe ſedulity and care a ſtrict alliance is moſt ſacredly and ſolemnly ratified between us, ſhould be moſt acceptable to us, and no leſs deeply fixed in our eſteem. Him therefore, having now moſt worthily accompliſhed his embaſſy, we thought it became us to ſend back to your majeſty, though not without the high applauſe which the reſt of his ſingular virtues merit; to the end, that he, who was before conſpicious in your eſteem and reſpect, may now be ſenſible of his having reaped ſtill more abundant fruits of his ſedulity and prudence from our recommendation. As for thoſe things which yet remain to be tranſacted, we have determined in a ſhort time to ſend an embaſſy to your majeſty for the ſettling of thoſe affairs. In the mean time, Almighty God preſerve in ſafety ſo great a pillar of his church, and of Swedland's welfare.

Your majeſty's moſt affectionate,

From our palace at Weſtminſter, July —, 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene Prince, LEWIS, King of FRANCE.

Moſt Serene King, our moſt dear Friend and Confederate;

CERTAIN merchants of London, Richard Baker and others, have made their complaint in a petition to us, that a certain hired ſhip of theirs, called the Endeavour,

William Jop maſter, laden at Teneriff with three hundred pipes of rich Canary, and bound from thence for London, in her voyage between Palma and that iſland, upon the twenty firſt of November, in the year ſixteen hundred and fifty five, was taken by four French veſſels, ſeeming ſhips of burden, but fitted and manned like privateers, under the command of Giles de la Roche their admiral; and carried with all her freight, and the greateſt part of the ſeamen to the Eaſt Indies, whither he pretended to be bound, (fourteen excepted, who were put aſhore upon the coaſt of Guiney) which the ſaid Giles affirmed he did with that intent, that none of them might eſcape from ſo remote and barbarous a country to do him any harm by their teſtimony. For he confeſſed he had neither any commiſſion to take the Engliſh veſſels, neither had he taken any, as he might have done before, well knowing there was a firm peace at that time between the French and our republic; but in regard he had deſigned to revictual in Portugal, from whence he was driven by contrary winds, he was conſtrained to ſupply his neceſſities with what he found in that veſſel; and believed the owners of his ſhips would ſatisfy the merchants for their loſs. Now the loſs of our merchants amounts to ſixteen thouſand Engliſh pounds, as will eaſily be made appear by witneſſes upon oath. But if it ſhall be lawful, upon ſuch trivial excuſes as theſe, for pirates to violate the moſt religious acts of princes, and make a ſport of merchants for their particular benefits, certainly the ſanctity of leagues muſt fall to the ground, all faith and authority of princes will grow out of date, and be trampled under foot. Wherefore we not only requeſt your majeſty, but believe it mainly to concern your honour, that they, who have adventured upon ſo ſlight a pretence to violate the league and moſt ſacred oath of their ſovereign, ſhould ſuffer the puniſhment due to ſuch perfidiouſneſs and daring inſolence; and that in the mean time the owners of thoſe ſhips, though to their loſs, ſhould be bound to ſatisfy our merchants for the vaſt detriment, which they have ſo wrongfully ſuſtained. So may the Almighty long preſerve your majeſty, and

ſupport

ſupport the intereſt of France againſt the common enemy of us both.

Your majeſty's moſt affectionate,

From our palace
at Weſtminſter,
Aug.—, 1656.

OLIVER, Protector, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND,
To his Eminency Cardinal MAZARINE.

Moſt Eminent Lord,

HAVING an occaſion to ſend letters to the king, we thought it likewiſe an offered opportunity to write to your eminency. For we could not think it proper to conceal the ſubject of our writing from the ſole and only perſon, whoſe ſingular prudence governs the moſt important intereſts of the French nation, and the moſt weighty affairs of the kingdom with equal fidelity, counſel, and vigilance. Not without reaſon we complain, in ſhort, to find that league by yourſelf, as it were a crime to doubt, moſt ſacredly concluded, almoſt the very ſame day contemned and violated by one Giles a Frenchman, a petty admiral of four ſhips, and his aſſociates, equally concerned, as your eminency will readily find by our letters to the king, and the demands themſelves of our merchants. Nor is it unknown to your excellency, how much it concerns not only inferiour magiſtrates, but even royal majeſty itſelf, that thoſe firſt violators of ſolemn alliances ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed. But they, perhaps, by this time being arrived in the Eaſt Indies, whither they pretended to be bound, enjoy in undiſturbed poſſeſſion the goods of our people as lawful prize won from an enemy, which they robbed and pillaged from the owners, contrary to all law, and the pledged faith of our late ſacred league. However, this is that which we requeſt from your eminency, that whatever goods were taken from our merchants by the admiral of thoſe ſhips, as neceſſary for his voyage, may be reſtored by the owners of the ſame veſſels, which was

no more than what the rovers themſelves thought juſt and equal; which, as we underſtand, it lies within your power to do, conſidering the authority and ſway you bear in the kingdom.

Your eminency's moſt affectionate,

From our palace at Weſtminſter, Aug. —, 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt High and Mighty Lords, the States of the UNITED PROVINCES.

Moſt High and Mighty Lords, our deareſt Friends and Confederates;

WE make no doubt but that all men will bear us this teſtimony, that no conſiderations, in contracting foreign alliances, ever ſwayed us beyond thoſe of defending the truth of religion, or that we accounted any thing more ſacred, than to unite the minds of all the friends and protectors of the proteſtants, and of all others who at leaſt were not their enemies. Whence it comes to paſs, that we are touched with ſo much the more grief of mind, to hear that the proteſtant princes and cities, whom it ſo much behoves to live in friendſhip and concord together, ſhould begin to be ſo jealous of each other, and ſo ill diſpoſed to mutual affection; more eſpecially, that your lordſhips and the king of Sweden, than whom the orthodox faith has not more magnanimous and courageous defenders, nor our republic confederates more ſtrictly conjoined in intereſts, ſhould ſeem to remit of your confidence in each other; or rather, that there ſhould appear ſome too apparent ſigns of tottering friendſhip and growing diſcord between ye. What the cauſes are, and what progreſs this alienation of your affection has made, we proteſt ourſelves to be altogether ignorant. However, we cannot but conceive an extraordinary trouble of mind for theſe beginnings of the leaſt diſſenſion ariſen among brethren, which infallibly muſt greatly endanger the proteſtant intereſts. Which if they ſhould gather

ſtrength, how prejudicial it would prove to proteſtant churches, what an occaſion of triumph it would afford our enemies, and more eſpecially the Spaniards, cannot be unknown to your prudence, and moſt induſtrious experience of affairs. As for the Spaniards, it has already ſo enlivened their confidence, and raiſed their courage, that they made no ſcruple by their embaſſador reſiding in your territories, boldly to obtrude their counſels upon your lordſhips, and that in reference to the higheſt concerns of your republic; preſuming partly with threats of renewing the war, to terrify; and partly with a falſe proſpect of advantage to ſolicit your lordſhips, to forſake your ancient and moſt faithful friends, the Engliſh, French, and Danes, and enter into a ſtrict confederacy with your old enemy, and once your domineering tyrant, now ſeemingly atoned; but, what is moſt to be feared, only at preſent treacherouſly fawning to advance his own deſigns. Certainly he who of an inveterate enemy lays hold of ſo ſlight an occaſion of a ſudden to become your counſellor, what is it that he would not take upon him? Where would his inſolency ſtop, if once he could but ſee with his eyes, what now he only ruminates and labours in his thoughts; that is to ſay, diviſion and a civil war among the proteſtants? We are not ignorant that your lordſhips, out of your deep wiſdom, frequently revolve in your minds what the poſture of all Europe is, and what more eſpecially the condition of the proteſtants: that the cantons of Switzerland adhering to the orthodox faith are in daily expectation of new troubles to be raiſed by their countrymen embracing the popiſh ceremonies; ſcarcely recovered from that war, which for the ſake of religion was kindled and blown up by the Spaniards, who ſupplied their enemies both with commanders and money: that the councils of the Spaniards are ſtill contriving to continue the ſlaughter and deſtruction of the Piedmontois, which was cruelly put in execution the laſt year: that the proteſtants under the juriſdiction of the emperor are moſt grievouſly haraſſed, having much ado to keep poſſeſſion of their native homes: that the king of Sweden, whom God, as we hope, has raiſed up to be a moſt ſtout defender

defender of the orthodox faith, is at preſent waging with all the force of his kingdom a doubtful and bloody war with the moſt potent enemies of the reformed religion: that your own provinces are threatened with hoſtile confederacies of the princes your neighbours, headed by the Spaniards; and laſtly, that we ourſelves are buſied in a war proclaimed againſt the king of Spain. In this poſture of affairs, if any conteſt ſhould happen between your lordſhips and the king of Sweden, how miſerable would be the condition of all the reformed churches over all Europe, expoſed to the cruelty and fury of unſanctified enemies? Theſe cares not ſlightly ſeize us; and we hope your ſentiments to be the ſame; and that out of your continued zeal for the common cauſe of the proteſtants, and to the end the preſent peace between brethren profeſſing the ſame faith, the ſame hope of eternity, may be preſerved inviolable, your lordſhips will accommodate your counſels to thoſe conſiderations, which are to be preferred before all others; and that you will leave nothing neglected, that may conduce to the eſtabliſhing tranquillity and union between your lordſhips and the king of Sweden. Wherein if we can any way be uſeful, as far as our authority, and the favour you bear us will ſway with your lordſhips, we freely offer our utmoſt aſſiſtance, prepared in like manner to be no leſs ſerviceable to the king of Sweden, to whom we deſign a ſpeedy embaſſy, to the end we may declare our ſentiments at large concerning theſe matters. We hope moreover, that God will bend your minds on both ſides to moderate counſels, and ſo reſtrain your animoſities, that no provocation may be given, either by the one or the other, to feſter your differences to extremity: but that on the other ſide both parties will remove whatever may give offence or occaſion of jealouſy to the other. Which if you ſhall vouchſafe to do, you will diſappoint your enemies, prove the conſolation of your friends, and in the beſt manner provide for the welfare of your republic. And this we beſeech you to be fully convinced of, that we ſhall uſe our utmoſt care to make appear, upon all occaſions, our extraordinary affection and goodwill to the ſtates of the United Provinces.

vinces. And ſo we moſt earneſtly implore the Almighty God to perpetuate his bleſſings of peace, wealth, and liberty, upon your republic; but above all things to preſerve it always flouriſhing in the love of the chriſtian faith, and the true worſhip of his name.

Your high and mightineſſes moſt affectionate,

From our palace at Weſtminſter, Aug.—, 1656,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, To the moſt Serene Prince, JOHN, King of PORTUGAL.

Moſt Serene Prince,

UPON the eleventh of July laſt, old ſtyle, we received by Thomas Maynard the ratification of the peace negotiated at London by your extraordinary embaſſador; as alſo of the private and preliminary articles, all now confirmed by your majeſty: and by our letters from Philip Meadows, our agent at Liſbon, dated the ſame time, we underſtand that our ratification alſo of the ſame peace and articles was by him, according to our orders ſent him, delivered to your majeſty: and thus the inſtruments of the forementioned ratification being mutually interchanged on both ſides in the beginning of June laſt, there is now a firm and ſettled peace between both nations. And this pacification has given us no ſmall occaſion of joy and ſatisfaction, as believing it will prove to the common benefit of both nations, and to the no ſlight detriment of our common enemies, who as they found out a means to diſturb the former league, ſo they left nothing neglected to have hindered the renewing of this. Nor do we queſtion in the leaſt, that they will omit any occaſion of creating new matter for ſcandals and jealouſies between us. Which we however have conſtantly determined, as much as in us lies, to remove at a remote diſtance from our thoughts; rather we ſo earneſtly deſire, that this our alliance may beget a mutual confidence, greater every day than other, that we ſhall take them for our enemies, who ſhall by any artifices

artifices endeavour to moleſt the friendſhip by this peace eſtabliſhed between ourſelves and both our people. And we readily perſuade ourſelves, that your majeſty's thoughts and intentions are the ſame. And whereas it has pleaſed your majeſty, by your letters dated the twenty fourth of June, and ſome days after the delivery by our agent of the interchanged inſtrument of confirmed peace, to mention certain clauſes of the league, of which you deſired ſome little alteration, being of ſmall moment to this republic, as your majeſty believes, but of great importance to the kingdom of Portugal; we ſhall be ready to enter into a particular treaty in order to thoſe propoſals made by your majeſty, or whatever elſe may conduce, in the judgment of both parties, to the farther eſtabliſhment and more ſtrongly faſtening of the league: wherein we ſhall have thoſe due conſiderations of your majeſty and your ſubjects, as alſo of our own people, that all may be ſatisfied; and it ſhall be in your own choice, whether theſe things ſhall be negotiated at Liſbon, or at London. However, the league being now confirmed, and duly ſealed with the ſeals of both nations, to alter any part of it would be the ſame thing as to annul the whole; which we are certainly aſſured your majeſty by no means deſires to do. We heartily wiſh all things lucky, all things proſperous to your majeſty. From our palace at Weſtminſter, Aug. —, 1656.

Your majeſty's moſt affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene Prince, JOHN, King of PORTUGAL.

Moſt Serene King,

WE have received the unwelcome news of a wicked and inhuman attempt to have murdered our agent Philip Meadows, reſiding with your majeſty, and by us ſent upon the bleſſed errand of peace; the heinouſneſs of which was ſuch, that his preſervation is only to be attributed

attributed to the protection of Heaven. And we are given to underſtand, by your letters dated the twenty ſixth of May laſt, and delivered to us by Thomas Maynard, that your majeſty, juſtly incenſed at the horridneſs of the fact, has commanded inquiry to be made after the criminals, to the end they may be brought to condign puniſhment: but we do not hear, that any of the ruffians are yet apprehended, or that your commands have wrought any effect in this particular. Wherefore we thought it our duty openly to declare, how deeply we reſent this barbarous outrage in part attempted, and in part committed: and therefore we make it our requeſt to your majeſty, that due puniſhment may be inflicted upon the authors, aſſociates, and encouragers of this abominable fact. And to the end that this may be the more ſpeedily accompliſhed, we farther demand, that perſons of honeſty and ſincerity, wellwiſhers to the peace of both nations, may be entruſted with the examination of this buſineſs, that ſo a due ſcrutiny may be made into the bottom of this malicious contrivance, to the end both authors and aſſiſtants may be the more ſeverely puniſhed. Unleſs this be done, neither your majeſty's juſtice, nor the honour of this republic can be vindicated; neither can there be any ſtable aſſurance of peace between both nations. We wiſh your majeſty all things fortunate and proſperous. From our palace at Whitehall, Auguſt —, 1656.

Your majeſty's moſt affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Illuſtrious Lord, the CONDE D'ODEMIRA.

Moſt Illuſtrious Lord,

YOUR ſingular goodwill towards us and this republic has laid no mean obligation upon us, nor ſlightly tied us to acknowledgment. We readily perceived it by your letters of the twenty fifth of June laſt, as alſo by thoſe

thoſe which we received from our agent Philip Meadows, ſent into Portugal to conclude the peace in agitation, wherein he informed us of your extraordinary zeal and diligence to promote the pacification, of which we moſt joyfully received the laſt ratification; and we perſuade ourſelves, that your lordſhip will have no cauſe to repent either of your pains and diligence in procuring this peace, or of your goodwill to the Engliſh, or your fidelity towards the king, your ſovereign; more eſpecially conſidering the great hopes we have that this peace will be of high advantage to both nations, and not a little inconvenient to our enemies. The only accident that fell out unfortunate and mournful in this negotiation, was that unhallowed villany nefariouſly attempted upon the perſon of our agent, Philip Meadows: the concealed authors of which intended piece of inhumanity ought no leſs diligently to be ſought after, and made examples to poſterity, than the vileſt of moſt openly detected aſſaſſinates. Nor can we doubt in the leaſt of your king's ſeverity and juſtice in the puniſhment of a crime ſo horrid, nor of your care and ſedulity to ſee, that there be no remiſſneſs of proſecution, as being a perſon bearing due veneration to the laws of God, and ſanctity among men, and no leſs zealous to maintain the peace between both nations, which never can ſubſiſt if ſuch inhuman barbarities as theſe eſcape unpuniſhed and unrevenged. But your abhorrence and deteſtation of the fact is ſo well known, that there is no need of inſiſting any more at preſent upon this unpleaſing ſubject. Therefore, having thus declared our goodwill and affection to your lordſhip, of which we ſhall be always ready to give apparent demonſtrations, there nothing remains, but to implore the bleſſings of Divine Favour and Protection upon you, and all yours. From our palace at Weſtminſter, Aug. —, 1656.

Your lordſhip's moſt affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS, &c.

Moſt Serene King, our deareſt Friend and Confederate;

BEING aſſured of your majeſty's concurrence both in thoughts and counſels for the defence of the proteſtant faith againſt the enemies of it, if ever, now at this time moſt dangerouſly vexatious; though we cannot but rejoice at your proſperous ſucceſſes, and the daily tidings of your victories, yet on the other ſide we cannot but be as deeply afflicted, to meet with one thing that diſturbs and interrupts our joy; we mean the bad news intermixed with ſo many welcome tidings, that the ancient friendſhip between your majeſty and the States of the United Provinces looks with a dubious aſpect, and that the miſchief is exaſperated to that height, eſpecially in the Baltic ſea, as ſeems to bode an unhappy rupture. We confeſs ourſelves ignorant of the cauſes; but we too eaſily foreſee, that the events, which God avert, will be fatal to the intereſts of the proteſtants. And therefore, as well in reſpect to that moſt ſtrict alliance between us and your majeſty, as out of that affection and love to the reformed religion, by which we all of us ought chiefly to be ſwayed, we thought it our duty, as we have moſt earneſtly exhorted the States of the United Provinces to peace and moderation, ſo now to perſuade your majeſty to the ſame. The proteſtants have enemies every where enow and to ſpare, inflamed with inexorable revenge; they never were known to have conſpired more perniciouſly to our deſtruction, witneſs the valleys of Piedmont, ſtill reeking with the blood and ſlaughter of the miſerable; witneſs Auſtria, lately turmoiled with the emperor's edicts and proſcriptions; witneſs Switzerland. But to what purpoſe is it, in many words to call back the bitter lamentations and remembrance of ſo many calamities? Who ſo ignorant, as not to know, that the counſels of the Spaniards, and the Roman pontiff, for theſe two years have filled all theſe places with conflagrations,

conflagrations, ſlaughter, and vexation of the orthodox? If to theſe miſchiefs there ſhould happen an acceſs of diſſenſion among proteſtant brethren, more eſpecially between two potent ſtates, upon whoſe courage, wealth, and fortitude, ſo far as human ſtrength may be relied upon, the ſupport and hopes of all the reformed churches depend; of neceſſity the proteſtant religion muſt be in great jeopardy, if not upon the brink of deſtruction. On the other ſide, if the whole proteſtant name would but obſerve perpetual peace among themſelves with that ſame brotherly union as becomes their profeſſion, there would be no occaſion to fear, what all the artifices or puiſſance of our enemies could do to hurt us, which our fraternal concord and harmony alone would eaſily repel and fruſtrate. And therefore we moſt earneſtly requeſt and beſeech your majeſty, to harbour in your mind propitious thoughts of peace, and inclinations ready bent to repair the breaches of your priſtine friendſhip with the United Provinces, if in any part it may have accidentally ſuffered the decays of miſtakes or miſconſtruction. If there be any thing wherein our labour, our fidelity, and diligence may be uſeful toward this compoſure, we offer and devote all to your ſervice. And may the God of Heaven favour and proſper your noble and pious reſolutions, which together with all felicity, and a perpetual courſe of victory, we cordially wiſh to your majeſty.

Your majeſty's moſt affectionate,

From our palace at Weſtminſter, Aug.—1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the States of HOLLAND.

Moſt High and Mighty Lords, our deareſt Friends;

IT has been repreſented to us, by William Cooper, a miniſter of London, and our countryman, that John le Maire of Amſterdam, his father-in-law, about three and thirty years ago deviſed a project, by which the revenues

revenues of your republic might be very much advanced without any burden to the people, and made an agreement with John Vandenbrook, to ſhare between them the reward, which they ſhould obtain for their invention; which was the ſettling of a little ſeal to be made uſe of in all the provinces of your territories, and for which your High and Mightineſſes promiſed to pay the ſaid Vandenbrook and his heirs the yearly ſum of three thouſand gilders, or three hundred Engliſh pounds. Now although the uſe and method of this little ſeal has been found very eaſy and expeditious, and that ever ſince great incomes have thereby accrued to your High and Mightineſſes, and ſome of your Provinces, nevertheleſs nothing of the ſaid reward, though with much importunity demanded, has been paid to this day; ſo that the ſaid Vandenbrook and le Maire being tired out with long delays, the right of the ſaid grant is devolved to the foreſaid William Cooper our countryman; who, deſirous to reap the fruit of his father-in-law's induſtry, has petitioned us, that we would recommend his juſt demands to your High and Mightineſſes, which we thought not reaſonable to deny him. Wherefore, in moſt friendly wiſe, we requeſt your High and Mightineſſes favourably to hear the petition of the ſaid William Cooper, and to take ſuch care, that the reward and ſtipend, ſo well deſerved, and by contract agreed and granted, may be paid him annually from this time forward, together with the arrears of the years already paſſed. Which not doubting but your High and Mightineſſes will youchſafe to perform, as what is no more than juſt and becoming your magnificence, we ſhall be ready to ſhow the ſame favour to the petitions of your countrymen upon any occaſions of the ſame nature, whenever preſented to us.

Your High and Mightineſſes moſt affectionate,

From our palace at Whitehall, September — 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the most Serene Prince, LEWIS, King of FRANCE.

Most Serene King, our dearest Friend
and Confederate;

AGAINST our will it is, that we so often trouble your majesty with the wrongs done by your subjects after a peace so lately renewed. But as we are fully persuaded, that your majesty disapproves their being committed, so neither can we be wanting to the complaints of our people. That the ship Anthony of Dieppe was legally taken before the league, manifestly appears by the sentence of the judges of our admiralty court. Part of the lading, that is to say, four thousand hides, Robert Brown, a merchant of London, fairly bought of those who were entrusted with the sale, as they themselves testify. The same merchant, after the peace was confirmed, carried to Dieppe about two hundred of the same hides, and there having sold them to a currier, thought to have received his money, but found it stopped and attached in the hands of his factor; and a suit being commenced against him, he could obtain no favour in that court: wherefore, we thought it proper to request your majesty, that the whole matter may be referred to your council, that so the said money may be discharged from an unjust and vexatious action. For if acts done and adjudged before the peace shall after peace renewed be called into question and controversy, we must look upon assurance of treaties to be a thing of little moment. Nor will there be any end of these complaints, if some of these violators of leagues be not made severe and timely examples to others. Which we hope your majesty will speedily take into your care. To whom God Almighty in the mean time vouchsafe his most holy protection.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

From our palace
at Whitehall,
Sept.—1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene Prince, JOHN, King of PORTUGAL.

Moſt Serene King,

THE peace being happily concluded between this republic and the kingdom of Portugal, and what refers to trade being duly provided for and ratified, we deemed it neceſſary to ſend to your majeſty Thomas Maynard, from whom you will receive theſe letters, to reſide in your dominions, under the character and employment of a conſul, and to take care of the eſtates and intereſts of our merchants. Now in regard it may frequently ſo fall out, that he may be enforced to deſire the privilege of free admiſſion to your majeſty, as well in matters of trade, as upon other occaſions for the intereſt of our republic, we make it our requeſt to your majeſty, that you will vouchſafe him favourable acceſs and audience, which we ſhall acknowledge as a ſingular demonſtration and teſtimony of your majeſty's goodwill towards us. In the mean time we beſeech Almighty God to bleſs your majeſty with all proſperity. From our court at Weſtminſter, Octob. — 1656.

Your majeſty's moſt affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

To the King of the SWEDES.

Moſt Serene and Potent King,

ALTHOUGH your majeſty's wonted and ſpontaneous favour and goodwill toward all deſerving men be ſuch, that all recommendations in their behalf may ſeem ſuperfluous, yet we were unwilling to diſmiſs without our letters to your majeſty this noble perſon, William Vavaſſour, knight, ſerving under your banners, and now returning to your majeſty: which we have done ſo much the more willingly, being informed, that formerly following your majeſty's fortunate conduct, he had loſt his blood in ſeveral combats, to aſſert the noble cauſe for

which you fight. Inſomuch, that the ſucceeding kings of Swedeland, in remuneration of his military ſkill, and bold achievements in war, rewarded him with lands and annual penſions, as the guerdons of his proweſs. Nor do we queſtion, but that he may be of great uſe to your majeſty in your preſent wars, who has been ſo long conſpicuous for his fidelity and experience in military affairs. It is our deſire therefore, that he may be recommended to your majeſty according to his merits; and we alſo farther requeſt, That he may be paid the arrears due to him. This, as it will be moſt acceptable to us, ſo we ſhall be ready upon the like occaſion, whenever offered, to gratify your majeſty, to whom we wiſh all happineſs and proſperity.

Your majeſty's moſt affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c., To the moſt Serene Prince, JOHN, King of PORTUGAL.

Moſt Serene King, our deareſt Friend and Confederate;

THOMAS EVANS, a maſter of a ſhip, and our countryman, has preſented a petition to us, wherein he ſets forth, that in the years 1649 and 1650 he ſerved the Braſile company with his ſhip the Scipio, being a veſſel of four hundred tons, and of which he was maſter: that the ſaid ſhip was taken from him, with all the lading and furniture, by your majeſty's command; by which he has received great damage, beſides the loſs of ſix years gain ariſing out of ſuch a ſtock. The commiſſioners by the league appointed on both ſides for the deciding controverſies valued the whole at ſeven thouſand of our pounds, or twice as many milreys of Portugal money, as they made their report to us. Which loſs falling ſo heavy upon the foreſaid Thomas, and being conſtrained to make a voyage to Liſbon for the recovery of his eſtate, he humbly beſought us, that we would grant him our letters to your majeſty in favour of his demands.—

We

We therefore, (although we wrote the laſt year in behalf of our merchants in general to whom the Braſile company was indebted, nevertheleſs that we may not be wanting to any that implore our aid), requeſt your majeſty, in regard to that friendſhip which is between us, that conſideration may be had of this man in particular, and that your majeſty would give ſuch orders to all your miniſters and officers, that no obſtacle may hinder him from demanding and recovering without delay what is owing to him from the Braſile company, or any other perſons. God Almighty bleſs your majeſty with perpetual felicity, and grant that our friendſhip may long endure.

From our palace at Weſtminſter, Octob.—1656.

Your majeſty's moſt affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the Illuſtrious and Magnificent Senate of HAMBOROUGH.

Moſt Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worſhipful;

JAMES and Patrick Hays, ſubjects of this commonwealth, have made grievous complaint before us, That they, being lawful heirs of their brother Alexander who died inteſtate, were ſo declared by a ſentence of your court pronounced in their behalf againſt their brother's widow; and the eſtates of their deceaſed brother, together with the profits, only the widow's dowry excepted, being adjudged to them by virtue of that ſentence; nevertheleſs, to this very day they could never reap any benefit of their pains and expenſes in obtaining the ſaid judgment, notwithſtanding their own declared right, and letters formerly written by king Charles in their behalf; for that the great power and wealth of Albert van Eyzen, one of your chief magiſtrates, and with whom the greateſt part of the goods was depoſited, was an oppoſition too potent for them to ſurmount, while he ſtrove all that in him lay that the goods might not be reſtored to the heirs. Thus diſappointed and tired out

with delays, and at length reduced to utmoſt poverty, they are become ſuppliants to us, that we would not forſake them, wronged and oppreſſed as they are in a confederated city. We therefore believing it to be a chief part of our duty, not to ſuffer any countryman of ours in vain to deſire our patronage and ſuccour in diſtreſs, make this requeſt to your lordſhips, which we are apt to think we may eaſily obtain from your city, That the ſentence pronounced in behalf of the two brothers may be ratified and duly executed, according to the intents and purpoſes for which it was given; and that you will not ſuffer any longer delay of juſtice, by an appeal to the chamber of Spire, upon any pretence whatever: for we have required the opinions of our lawyers, which we have ſent to your lordſhips fairly written and ſigned. But if entreaty and fair means will nothing avail, of neceſſity (and which is no more than according to the cuſtomary law of nations, though we are unwilling to come to that extremity) the ſeverity of retaliation muſt take its courſe; which we hope your prudence will take care to prevent. From our palace at Weſtminſter, Octob. 16, 1656.

Your lordſhips' moſt affectionate,
OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene and Potent LEWIS, King of FRANCE.

Moſt Serene and Potent King, our deareſt Friend and Confederate;

WE are apt to believe, that your majeſty received our letters dated the 14th of May, of the laſt year, wherein we wrote that John Dethic, mayor of London that year, and William Waterford, merchant, had by their petition ſet forth, That a certain veſſel called the Jonas, freighted with goods upon their account, and bound for Dunkirk, then under the juriſdiction of the French, was taken at the very mouth of the Thames, by a ſearover, pretending a commiſſion from the ſon of the late king Charles: which

which being directly contrary to your edicts and the decrees of your council, that no Engliſh ſhip, taken by the enemies of the parliament, ſhould be admitted into any of your ports, and there put to ſale, they demanded reſtitution of the ſaid ſhip and goods from M. Leſtrade, then governor of the town, who returned them an anſwer no way becoming a perſon of his quality, or who pretended obedience to his ſovereign; That the government was conferred upon him for his good ſervice in the wars, and therefore he would make his beſt advantage of it, that is to ſay, by right or wrong; for that he ſeemed to drive at: as if he had received that government of your majeſty's free gift, to authorize him in the robbing your confederates, and contemning your edicts ſet forth in their favour. For what the king of France forbids his ſubjects any way to have a hand in, that the king's governor has not only ſuffered to be committed in your ports, but he himſelf becomes the pirate, ſeizes the prey, and openly avouches the fact. With this anſwer therefore the merchants departed, altogether baffled and diſappointed; and this we ſignified by our letters to your majeſty the laſt year with little better ſucceſs; for as yet we have received no reply to thoſe letters. Of which we are apt to believe the reaſon was, becauſe the governor was with the army in Flanders; but now he reſides at Paris, or rather flutters unpuniſhed about the city, and at court, enriched with the ſpoils of our merchants. Once more therefore we make it our requeſt to your majeſty, which it is your majeſty's intereſt in the firſt place to take care of, that no perſon whatever may dare to juſtify the wrongs done to your majeſty's confederates by the contempt of your royal edicts. Nor can this cauſe be properly referred to the commiſſioners appointed for deciding common controverſies on both ſides; ſince in this caſe not only the rights of confederates, but your authority itſelf, and the veneration due to the royal name, are chiefly in diſpute. And it would be a wonder, that merchants ſhould be more troubled for their loſſes, than your majeſty provoked at encroachments upon your honour. Which while you diſdain to brook, with the

ſame labour you will demonſtrate, that you neither repent of your friendly edicts in favour of our republic, nor connived at the injuries done by your ſubjects, nor neglected to give due reſpect to our demands. From our court at Weſtminſter, Novemb. — 1656.

Your majeſty's moſt bounden by goodwill,
by friendſhip and ſolemn league,
OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince, FREDERIC III, King of DENMARK, NORWAY, the VANDALS, and GOTHS; Duke of SLESWIC, HOLSATIA, STORMATIA, and DITHMARSH; Count in OLDENBURGH and DELMENHORST; &c.

Moſt Serene and Potent King, our deareſt
Friend and Confederate;

WE received your majeſty's letters dated the 16th of February, from Copenhagen, by the moſt worthy Simon de Pitkum, your majeſty's agent here reſiding. Which when we had peruſed, the demonſtrations of your majeſty's goodwill towards us, and the importance of the matter concerning which you write, affected us to that degree, that we deſigned forthwith to ſend to your majeſty ſome perſon, who being furniſhed with ample inſtructions from us, might more at large declare to your majeſty our counſels in that affair. And though we have ſtill the ſame reſolutions, yet hitherto we have not been at leiſure to think of a perſon proper to be entruſted with thoſe commands, which the weight of the matter requires; though in a ſhort time we hope to be more at liberty. In the mean while we thought it not convenient any longer to delay the letting your majeſty underſtand, that the preſent condition of affairs in Europe has employed the greateſt part of our care and thoughts; while for ſome years, to our great grief, we have beheld the proteſtant princes, and ſupreme magiſtrates of the reformed republics, (whom it rather behoves, as being engaged by the common tie of religion and ſafety, to combine and ſtudy all the ways imaginable

conducing to mutual defence) more and more at weakening variance among themſelves, and jealous of each other's actions and deſigns; putting their friends in fear, their enemies in hope, that the poſture of affairs bodes rather enmity and diſcord, than a firm agreement of mind to defend and aſſiſt each other. And this ſolicitude has fixed itſelf ſo much the deeper in our thoughts, in regard there ſeems to appear ſome ſparks of jealouſy between your majeſty and the king of Sweden; at leaſt, that there is not that conjunction of affections, which our love and goodwill in general toward the orthodox religion ſo importunately requires: your majeſty, perhaps, ſuſpecting that the trade of your dominions will be prejudiced by the king of Sweden; and on the other ſide, the king of Sweden being jealous, that by your means the war which he now wages is made more difficult, and that you oppoſe him in his contracting thoſe alliances which he ſeeks. It is not unknown to your majeſty, ſo eminent for your profound wiſdom, how great the danger is that threatens the proteſtant religion, ſhould ſuch ſuſpicions long continue between two ſuch potent monarchs; more eſpecially, which God avert, if any ſymptom of hoſtility ſhould break forth. However it be, for our parts, as we have earneſtly exhorted the king of Sweden, and the ſtates of the United Provinces to peace, and moderate counſels, (and are beyond expreſſion glad to behold peace and concord renewed between them, for that the heads of that league are tranſmitted to us by their lordſhips the ſtates-general) ſo we thought it our duty, and chiefly becoming our friendſhip, not to conceal from your majeſty what our ſentiments are concerning theſe matters, (more eſpecially being affectionately invited ſo to do by your majeſty's moſt friendly letters, which we look upon, and embrace, as a moſt ſingular teſtimony of your goodwill towards us) but to lay before your eyes how great a neceſſity Divine Providence has impoſed upon us all that profeſs the proteſtant religion, to ſtudy peace among ourſelves, and that chiefly at this time, when our moſt embittered enemies ſeem to have on every ſide conſpired our deſtruction. There is no neceſſity of calling to remembrance

brance the valleys of Piedmont ſtill beſmeared with the blood and ſlaughter of the miſerable inhabitants; nor Auſtria, tormented at the ſame time with the emperor's decrees and proſcriptions; nor the impetuous onſets of the popiſh upon the proteſtant Switzers. Who can be ignorant, that the artifices and machinations of the Spaniards, for ſome years laſt paſt, have filled all theſe places with the confuſed and blended havoc of fire and ſword? To which unfortunate pile of miſeries, if once the reformed brethren ſhould come to add their own diſſenſions among themſelves, and more eſpecially two ſuch potent monarchs, the chiefeſt part of our ſtrength, and among whom ſo large a proviſion of the proteſtant ſecurity and puiſſance lies ſtored and hoarded up againſt times of danger, moſt certainly the intereſts of the proteſtants muſt go to ruin, and ſuffer a total and irrecoverable eclipſe. On the other ſide, if peace continue firmly fixed between two ſuch powerful neighbours, and the reſt of the orthodox princes; if we would but make it our main ſtudy, to abide in brotherly concord, there would be no cauſe, by God's aſſiſtance, to fear neither the force nor the ſubtilty of our enemies; all whoſe endeavours and laborious toils our union alone would be able to diſſipate and fruſtrate. Nor do we queſtion, but that your majeſty, as you are freely willing, ſo your willingneſs will be conſtant in contributing your utmoſt aſſiſtance, to procure this bleſſed peace. To which purpoſe we ſhall be moſt ready to communicate and join our counſels with your majeſty; profeſſing a real and cordial friendſhip, and not only determined inviolably to obſerve the amity ſo auſpiciouſly contracted between us, but, as God ſhall enable us, to bind our preſent alliance with a more ſtrict and fraternal bond. In the mean time, the ſame eternal God grant all things proſperous and ſucceſsful to your majeſty.

Your majeſty's moſt cloſely united by friendſhip, alliance, and goodwill,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

From our court at Whitehall,
Decemb. — 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene and Illuſtrious Prince and Lord, the Lord WILLIAM, Landgrave of HESSE, Prince of HEREFELDT, Count in CUTZENELLEBOGEN, Decia LIGENHAIN, WIDDA, and SCHAUNBURG, &c.

Moſt Serene Prince,

WE had returned an anſwer to your letters ſent us now near a twelvemonth ſince, for which we beg your highneſs's pardon, had not many, and thoſe the moſt important affairs of the republic under our care, conſtrained us to this unwilling ſilence. For what letters could be more grateful to us, than thoſe which are written from a moſt religious prince, deſcended from religious anceſtors, in order to ſettle the peace of religion, and the harmony of the church? which letters attribute to us the ſame inclinations, the ſame zeal to promote the peace of Chriſtendom, not only in your own but in the opinion and judgment of almoſt all the chriſtian world, and which we are moſt highly glad to find ſo univerſally aſcribed to ourſelves. And how far our endeavours have been ſignal formerly throughout theſe three kingdoms, and what we have effected by our exhortations, by our ſufferings, by our conduct, but chiefly by divine aſſiſtance, the greateſt part of our people both well know, and are ſenſible of, in a deep tranquillity of their conſciences. The ſame peace we have wiſhed to the churches of Germany, whoſe diſſenſions have been too ſharp, and of too long endurance; and by our agent Dury for many years in vain endeavouring the ſame reconciliation, we have cordially offered whatever might conduce on our part to the ſame purpoſe. We ſtill perſevere in the ſame determinations, and wiſh the ſame fraternal charity one among another, to thoſe churches. But how difficult a taſk it is to ſettle peace among thoſe ſons of peace, as they give out themſelves to be, to our extreme grief we more than abundantly underſtand. For that the reformed, and thoſe of the Auguſtan confeſſion, ſhould cement together in a communion of one church, is hardly ever to be expected: it is impoſſible

impoſſible by force to prohibit either from defending their opinons, whether in private diſputes, or by public writings; for force can never conſiſt with eccleſiaſtical tranquillity. This only were to be wiſhed, that they who differ, would ſuffer themſelves to be entreated, that they would diſagree more civilly, and with more moderation; and notwithſtanding their diſputes, love one another; not embittered againſt each other as enemies, but as brethren diſſenting only in trifles, though in the fundamentals of faith moſt cordially agreeing. With inculcating and perſuading theſe things, we ſhall never be wearied; beyond that, there is nothing allowed to human force or counſels: God will accompliſh his own work in his own time. In the mean while, you, moſt ſerene prince, have left behind you a noble teſtimony of your affection to the churches, an eternal monument becoming the virtue of your anceſtors, and an examplar worthy to be followed by all princes. It only then remains for us to implore the merciful and great God to crown your highneſs with all the proſperity in other things which you can wiſh for; but not to change your mind, than which you cannot have a better ſince a better cannot be, nor more piouſly devoted to his glory.

Weſtminſter, March — 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene Prince, the Duke of COURLAND.

Moſt Serene Prince,

WE have been abundantly ſatisfied of your affection to us, as well at other times, as when you kindly entertained our embaſſador in his journey to the duke of Muſcovy, for ſome days together making a ſtop in your territories: now we are no leſs confident, that your highneſs will give us no leſs obliging teſtimonies of your juſtice and equity, as well out of your own goodnature, as at our requeſt. For we are given to underſtand, that one John Johnſon, a Scotſman, and maſter of a certain ſhip of yours, having faithfully diſcharged his duty for ſeven

ſeven years together in the ſervice of your highneſs, as to your highneſs is well known, at length delivered the ſaid ſhip, called the Whale, in the mouth of the river, according as the cuſtom is, to one of your pilots, by him to be carried ſafe into harbour. But it ſo fell out, that the pilot, being ignorant of his duty, though frequently warned and admoniſhed by the ſaid Johnſon, as he has proved by ſeveral witneſſes, the ſaid ſhip ran aground and ſplit to pieces, not through any fault of the maſter, but through the want of ſkill, or obſtinacy of the pilot. Which being ſo, we make it our earneſt requeſt to your highneſs, that neither the ſaid ſhipwreck may be imputed to the forementioned Johnſon the maſter, nor that he may upon that account be deprived of the wages due to him; by the only enjoyment of which, he having lately ſuffered another misfortune at ſea, he hopes however to ſupport and comfort himſelf in the extremity of his wants.

From our court at Weſtminſter,
March —, 1657.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Noble the Conſuls and Senators of the Republic of DANTZICK.

Moſt Noble and Magnificent, our deareſt Friends;

WE have always eſteemed your city flouriſhing in induſtry, wealth, and ſtudious care to promote all uſeful arts and ſciences, fit to be compared with any the moſt noble cities of Europe. Now in regard that in this war, that has been long hovering about your confines, you have rather choſen to ſide with the Polanders, than with the Swedes; we are moſt heartily deſirous, that for the ſake of that religion which you embrace, and of your ancient commerce with the Engliſh, you would chiefly adhere to thoſe counſels, which may prove moſt agreeable to the glory of God, and the dignity and ſplendour of your city. Wherefore we entreat ye, for the ſake of that friendſhip which has been long eſtabliſhed between yourſelves and the Engliſh nation, and if our reputation have

have obtained any favour or eſteem among ye, to ſet at liberty count Coniſmark, conſpicuous among the principal of the Swediſh captains, and a perſon ſingularly famed for his conduct in war, but by the treachery of his own people ſurpriſed at ſea; wherein you will do no more than what the laws of war, not yet exaſperated to the height, allow; or if you think this is not ſo agreeable to your intereſts, that you will however deem him worthy a more eaſy and leſs ſevere confinement. Which of theſe two favours ſoever you ſhall determine to grant us, you will certainly perform an act becoming the reputation of your city, and highly oblige beſides the moſt famous warriors and moſt eminent captains of all parties: and laſtly, lay upon ourſelves an obligation not the meaneſt; and perhaps it may be worth your intereſt to gratify us.

From our court at Weſtminſter, April —, 1656. Your lordſhips' affectionate, OLIVER, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND, &c., To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince and Lord, Emperor and Great Duke of all RUSSIA; ſole Lord of VOLODOMARIA, MOSCOW and NOVOGRAGE; King of CAZAN, ASTRACAN, and SIBERIA; Lord of VOBSCOW, Great Duke of SMOLENSKO, TUERSCOY, and other Places; Lord and Great Duke of NOVOGROD, and the Lower Provinces of CHERNIGOY, REZANSCO, and others; Lord of all the NORTHERN CLIMES; alſo Lord of EVERSCO, CARTALINSCA, and many other Places.

ALL men know how ancient the friendſhip, and how vaſt the trade has been for a long train of years between the Engliſh nation and the people of your empire: but that ſingular virtue, moſt Auguſt Emperor, which in your majeſty far outſhines the glory of your anceſtors, and the high opinion which all the neighbouring princes have of it, more eſpecially moves us to pay a more than ordinary veneration and affection to your majeſty, and to deſire the imparting of ſome things to your conſideration, which may conduce to the good of Chriſtendom and your own intereſts.

Wherefore, we have ſent the moſt accompliſhed Richard Bradſhaw, a perſon of whoſe fidelity, integrity, prudence and experience in affairs, we are well aſſured, as having been employed by us in ſeveral other negotiations of this nature, under the character of our agent to your majeſty; to the end he may more at large make known to your majeſty our ſingular goodwill and high reſpect toward ſo puiſſant a monarch, and tranſact with your majeſty concerning the matters abovementioned. Him therefore we requeſt your majeſty favourably to receive in our name, and as often as ſhall be requiſite to grant him free acceſs to your perſon, and no leſs gracious audience; and laſtly, to give the ſame credit to him in all things which he ſhall propoſe or negotiate, as to ourſelves, if we were perſonally preſent. And ſo we beſeech Almighty God to bleſs your majeſty and the Ruſſian empire with all proſperity.

Your majeſty's moſt affectionate,

From our court at Weſtminſter, April—, 1657.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS, &c.

Moſt Serene and Potent King, our deareſt Friend and Confederate;

THE moſt honourable William Jepſon, colonel of horſe, and a ſenator in our parliament, who will have the honour to deliver theſe letters to your majeſty, will make known to your majeſty, with what diſturbance and grief of mind we received the news of the fatal war broke out between your majeſty and the king of Denmark, and how much it is our cordial and real endeavour, not to neglect any labour or duty of ours, as far as God enables us, that ſome ſpeedy remedy may be applied to this growing miſchief, and thoſe calamities averted, which of neceſſity this war will bring upon the common cauſe of religion; more eſpecially at this time,

time, now that our adverſaries unite their forces and pernicious counſels againſt the profeſſion and profeſſors of the orthodox faith. Theſe and ſome other conſiderations of great importance to the benefit and public intereſts of both nations, have induced us to ſend this gentleman to your majeſty, under the character of our extraordinary envoy. Whom we therefore deſire your majeſty kindly to receive, and to give credit to him in all things which he ſhall have to impart to your majeſty in our name; as being a perſon in whoſe fidelity and prudence we very much confide. We alſo farther requeſt, That your majeſty will be pleaſed fully to aſſure yourſelf of our goodwill and moſt undoubted zeal, as well toward your majeſty, as for the proſperity of your affairs. Of which we ſhall be readily prepared with all imaginable willingneſs of mind to give unqueſtionable teſtimonies upon all occaſions. From our court at Weſtminſter, Auguſt — 1657.

Your majeſty's friend, and moſt ſtrictly
counited confederate,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene Prince, the Lord FREDERIC WILLIAM, Marquis of BRANDENBURGH, High Chamberlain of the Imperial Empire, and Prince Elector, Duke of MAGDEBURG, PRUSSIA, JULIERS, CLEVES, MONTS, STETTIN, POMERANIA, of the CASSIUBIANS and VANDALS, as alſo of SILESIA, CROSNA, and CARNOVIA, Burgrave of NORRINBURG, Prince of HALBERSTADT and MINDA, Count of MARK and RAVENSBERG, Lord in RAVENSTEIN.

Moſt Serene Prince, our deareſt Friend
and Confederate;

SUCH is the fame of your highneſs's virtue and prudence both in peace and war, and ſo loudly ſpread through all the world, that all the princes round about are ambitious of your friendſhip; nor does any one deſire

ſire a more faithful or conſtant friend and aſſociate: therefore to the end your highneſs may know, that we are alſo in the number of thoſe that have the higheſt and moſt honourable thoughts of your perſon and merits, ſo well deſerving of the commonwealth of Chriſtendom; we have ſent the moſt worthy colonel William Jepſon, a ſenator in our parliament, in our name to kiſs your highneſs's hands; and withal to wiſh the continuance of all proſperity to your affairs, and in words at large to expreſs our goodwill and affection to your ſerenity; and therefore make it our requeſt, That you will vouchſafe to give him credit in thoſe matters concerning which he has inſtructions to treat with your highneſs, as if all things were atteſted and confirmed by our perſonal preſence. From our court at Whitehall, Auguſt —, 1657.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Noble the Conſuls and Senators of the city of HAMBOROUGH.

Moſt Noble, moſt Magnificent, and Worthy,

THE moſt accompliſhed colonel William Jepſon, a ſenator in our parliament, being ſent by us to the moſt ſerene king of Sweden, is to travel through your city; and therefore we have given him in command, not to paſs by your lordſhips unſaluted in our name; and withal to make it our requeſt, That you will be ready to aſſiſt him upon whatſoever occaſion he ſhall think it requiſite to crave the aid of your authority and counſel. Which the more willingly you ſhall do, the more you ſhall find you have acquired our favour.

From our court at Weſtminſter,
Aug. —, 1657.

To the moſt Noble, the Conſuls and Senators of the City of BREME.

HOW great our affection is toward your city, how particular our goodwill, as well upon the account of

your religion, as for the celebrated ſplendour of your city, as formerly you have found; ſo when occaſion offers, you ſhall be further ſenſible. At preſent, in regard the moſt accompliſhed colonel William Jepſon, a ſenator in our parliament, is to travel through Bremen with the character of our envoy extraordinary to the king of Sweden, it is our pleaſure that he ſalute your lordſhips lovingly and friendly in our name; and that if any accident fall out, wherein your aſſiſtance and friendſhip may be ſerviceable to him, that he may have free admiſſion to deſire it, upon the ſcore of our alliance. Wherein we are confident you will the leſs be wanting, by how much the more reaſon you will have to be aſſured of our ſingular love and kindneſs for your lordſhips. From our court at Whitehall, Auguſt —, 1657.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Noble the Senators and Conſuls of the City of LUBECK.

Moſt Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worſhipful, our deareſt Friends;

COLONEL William Jepſon, a perſon of great honour, and a ſenator in our parliament, is to paſs with the character of a public miniſter from your city to the king of Sweden, encamping not far from it. Wherefore we deſire your lordſhips, that if occaſion require, upon the account of the friendſhip and commerce between us, you will be aſſiſtant to him in his journey through your city, and the territories under your juriſdiction. As to what remains, it is our farther pleaſure, that you be ſaluted in our name, and that you be aſſured of our goodwill and ready inclinations to ſerve your lordſhips. From our court at Weſtminſter, Auguſt —, 1657.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the City of HAMBOROUGH.

Moſt Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worſhipful;

PHILIP MEADOWS, who brings theſe letters to your

your lordſhips, is to travel through your city with the character of our agent to the king of Denmark. Therefore we moſt earneſtly recommend him to your lordſhips, that if any occaſion ſhould happen for him to deſire it, you would be ready to aid him with your authority and aſſiſtance: and we deſire that this our recommendation may have the ſame weight at preſent with your lordſhips as formerly it wont to have; nor ſhall we be wanting to your lordſhips upon the ſame opportunities. From our court at Whitehall, Auguſt —, 1657.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene Prince, FREDERIC, Heir of NORWAY, Duke of SLESWIC, HOLSATIA, and DITMARSH, Count in OLDENBURGH and DELMENHORST.

Moſt Serene Prince, our deareſt Friend;

COLONEL William Jepſon, a perſon truly noble in his country, and a ſenator in our parliament, is ſent by us, as our envoy extraordinary to the moſt ſerene king of Sweden; and may it prove happy and proſperous for the common peace and intereſts of Chriſtendom! We have given him inſtructions, among other things, that in his journey, after he has kiſſed your Serenity's hands in our name, and declared our former goodwill and conſtant zeal for your welfare, to requeſt of your Serenity alſo, that being guarded with your authority, he may travel with ſafety and convenience through your territories. By which kind act of civility, your highneſs will in a greater meaſure oblige us to returns of anſwerable kindneſs. From our court at Weſtminſter, Aug. —, 1657.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene Prince, FERDINAND, Great Duke of TUSCANY.

Moſt Serene Great Duke, our deareſt Friend;

THE company of our merchants trading to the eaſtern coaſts of the Mediterranean ſea, by their petition to us, have ſet forth, that William Ellis, maſter of a ſhip

called the Little Lewis, being at Alexandria in Egypt, was hired by the Baſha of Memphis, to carry rice, ſugar, and coffee, either to Conſtantinople or Smyrna, for the uſe of the Grand Seignior; but that contrary to his faith and promiſe given, he bore away privately from the Ottoman fleet, and brought his ſhip and lading to Leghorn, where now he lives in poſſeſſion of his prey. Which villanous act being of dangerous example, as expoſing the Chriſtian name to ſcandal, and the fortunes of our merchants living under the Turks to violence and ranſac; we therefore make it our requeſt to your highneſs, that you will give command, that the ſaid maſter be apprehended and impriſoned, and that the veſſel and goods may remain under ſeizure, till we ſhall have given notice of our care for the reſtitution of thoſe goods to the ſultan: aſſuring your highneſs of our readineſs to make ſuitable returns of gratitude, whenever opportunity preſents itſelf. From our court at Weſtminſter, September —, 1657.

Your highneſs's moſt affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene Prince, the Lord FREDERIC-WILLIAM, Marquis of BRANDENBURGH, &c.

Moſt Serene Prince, our moſt dear Friend and Confederate;

BY our laſt letters to your highneſs, either already or ſhortly to be delivered by our embaſſador William Jepſon, we have imparted the ſubſtance of our embaſſy to your highneſs; which we could not do without ſome mention of your great virtues, and demonſtration of our own goodwill and affection. Nevertheleſs, that we may not ſeem too ſuperficially to have gilded over your tranſcending deſervings of the proteſtant intereſts; we thought it proper to reſume the ſame ſubject, and pay our reſpect and veneration, not more willingly, or with a greater fervency of mind, but ſomewhat more at large to your highneſs: and truly moſt deſervedly, when daily information reaches our ears, that your faith and

conſcience, by all manner of artifices tempted and aſſailed, by all manner of arts and devices ſolicited, yet cannot be ſhaken, or by any violence be rent from your friendſhip and alliance with a moſt magnanimous prince and your confederate: and this, when the affairs of the Swedes are now reduced to that condition, that in adhering to their alliance, it is manifeſt, that your highneſs rather conſults the common cauſe of the reformed religion, than your own advantage. And when your highneſs is almoſt ſurrounded and beſieged by enemies either privately lurking, or almoſt at your gates; yet ſuch is your conſtancy and reſolution of mind, ſuch your conduct and proweſs becoming a great general, that the burthen and maſſy bulk of the whole affair, and the event of this important war, ſeems to reſt and depend upon your ſole determination. Wherefore your highneſs has no reaſon to queſtion, but that you may rely upon our friendſhip and unfeigned affection; who ſhould think ourſelves worthy to be forſaken of all men's good word, ſhould we ſeem careleſs in the leaſt of your unblemiſhed fidelity, your conſtancy, and the reſt of your applauded virtues; or ſhould we pay leſs reſpect to your highneſs upon the common ſcore of religion. As to thoſe matters propounded by the moſt accompliſhed John Frederic Schlever, your counſellor and agent here reſiding, if hitherto we could not return an anſwer, ſuch as we deſired to do, though with all aſſiduity and diligence laboured by your agent; we intreat your highneſs to impute it to the preſent condition of our affairs, and to be aſſured, that there is nothing which we account more ſacred, or more earneſtly deſire, than to be ſerviceable and aſſiſting to your intereſts, ſo bound up with the cauſe of religion. In the mean time we beſeech the God of mercy and power, that ſo ſignal a proweſs and fortitude may never languiſh or be oppreſſed, nor be deprived the fruit and due applauſe of all your pious undertakings. From our court at Weſtminſter, September —, 1657.

Your highneſs's moſt affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

To the moſt Excellent Lord, M. De Bourdeaux, Extraordinary Embaſſador from the moſt Serene King of France.

Moſt Excellent Lord,

LUCAS LUCIE, merchant of London, has made his complaint to the moſt ſerene lord protector, concerning a certain ſhip of his, called the Mary; which in her voyage from Ireland to Bayonne, being driven by tempeſt into the port of St. John de Luz, was there detained by virtue of an arreſt, at the ſuit of one Martin de Lazan: nor could ſhe be diſcharged, till the merchants had given ſecurity to ſtand a trial for the property of the ſaid ſhip and lading. For Martin pretended, to have a great ſum of money owing to him by the parliament for ſeveral goods of his, which in the year 1642 were ſeized by authority of parliament, in a certain ſhip called the Sancta Clara. But it is manifeſt, that Martin was not the owner of the ſaid goods, only that he proſecuted the claim of the true owner Richald and Iriat, together with his partner, whoſe name was Antonio Fernandez; and that upon the ſaid Martin and Antonio's falling out among themſelves, the parliament decreed, that the ſaid goods ſhould be ſtopped till the law ſhould decide to which of the two they were to be reſtored. Upon this, Anthony was deſirous, that the action ſhould proceed; on the other ſide, neither Martin, nor any body for him, has hitherto appeared in court: all which is evidently apparent by Lucas's petition hereto annexed. So that it ſeems moſt unreaſonable, that he who refuſed to try his pretended title with Antonio, to other men's goods, in our own courts, ſhould compel our people, and the true owners, to go to law for their own in a foreign dominion. And that the ſame is apparent to your excellency's equity and prudence, the moſt ſerene lord protector makes no queſtion; by whom I am therefore commanded in a particular manner, to recommend this fair and honeſt cauſe of Lucas Lucie to your excellency's conſideration; to the end that Martin, who neglects to try his pretended right

right here, may not under that pretence have an opportunity in the French dominions to deprive others of their rightful claims.

Weſtminſter, October —, 1657. Your excellency's moſt affectionate.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene Duke and Senate of the Republic of VENICE.

Moſt Serene Duke and Senate, our deareſt Friends;

SO numerous are the tidings brought us from your fortunate ſucceſſes againſt the Turks, that there is nothing wherein we have more frequent occaſion to employ our pens, than in congratulating your Serenities for ſome ſignal victory. For this ſo recently obtained, we give ye joy, as being not only moſt auſpicious and ſeaſonable to your republic; but which is more glorious, ſo greatly tending to the deliverance of all the Chriſtians groaning under Turkiſh ſervitude. More particularly we recommend to your Serenity and the ſenate Thomas Galily, formerly maſter of the ſhip called the Relief, who for theſe five years together has been a ſlave; though this be not the firſt time we have interceded in his behalf, yet now we do it the more freely, as in a time of more than ordinary exultation. He having received your commands, to ſerve your republic with his ſhip, and engaging alone with ſeveral of the enemies galleys, ſunk ſome, and made a great havoc among the reſt: but at length his ſhip being burnt, the brave commander, and ſo well deſerving of the Venetian republic, was taken, and ever ſince for five years together has endured a miſerable bondage among the barbarians. To redeem himſelf he had not wherewithal; for whatſoever he had, that he makes out was owing to him by your highneſs and the ſenate, upon the account either of his ſhip, his goods, or for his wages. Now in regard he may not want relief, and for that the enemy refuſes to diſcharge him upon any other condition, than by exchange of ſome other perſon of

equal value and reputation to himſelf; we moſt earneſtly intreat your highneſs, and the moſt ſerene ſenate; and the afflicted old man, father of the ſaid Thomas, full of grief and tears, which not a little moved us, by our interceſſion begs, that in regard ſo many proſperous combats have made ye maſters of ſo many Turkiſh priſoners, you will exchange ſome one of their number, whom the enemy will accept for ſo ſtout a ſeaman taken in your ſervice, our countryman, and the only ſon of a moſt ſorrowful father. Laſtly, that whatſoever is due to him from the republic, upon the ſcore of wages, or upon any other account, you will take care to ſee it paid to his father, or to whom he ſhall appoint to receive it. The effect of our firſt requeſt, or rather of your equity, was this, that the whole matter was examined, and upon an exact ſtating of the accounts the debt was agreed; but perhaps by reaſon of more important buſineſs intervening, no payment enſued upon it. Now the condition of the miſerable creature admits of no longer delay; and therefore ſome endeavour muſt be uſed, if it be worth your while to deſire his welfare, that he may ſpeedily be delivered from the noiſome ſtench of impriſonment. Which, as you flouriſh no leſs in juſtice, moderation, and prudence, than in military fame and victorious ſucceſs, we are confident you will ſee done, of your own innate humanity and freewill, without any heſitation, without any incitement of ours. Now that you may long flouriſh, after a moſt potent enemy ſubdued, our daily prayers implore of the Almighty. From our court at Weſtminſter, October —, 1657.

Your highneſs's moſt affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the UNITED PROVINCES.

Moſt High and Mighty Lords, our deareſt Friends and Confederates;

THE moſt illuſtrious William Nuport, your extraordinary embaſſador for ſome years reſiding with us, is now returning to your lordſhips; but with this condition, that after this reſpite obtained from your lordſhips, he ſhall return again in a ſhort time. For he has remained among us, in the diſcharge of his truſt, with that fidelity, vigilance, prudence, and equity, that neither you nor we could deſire greater virtue and probity in an embaſſador, and a perſon of unblemiſhed reputation; with thoſe inclinations and endeavours to preſerve peace and friendſhip between us, without any fraud or diſſimulation, that while he officiates the duty of your embaſſador, we do not find what occaſion of ſcruple or offence can ariſe in either nation. And we ſhould brook his departure with ſo much the more anxiety of mind, conſidering the preſent juncture of times and affairs, were we not aſſured, that no man can better or more faithfully declare and repreſent to your lordſhips, either the preſent condition of affairs, or our goodwill and affection to your government. Being therefore every way ſo excellent a perſon, and ſo very deſerving both of yours and our republic, we requeſt your lordſhips to receive him returning, ſuch as we unwillingly diſmiſs him, laden with the real teſtimonials of our applauſes. Almighty God grant all proſperity to your affairs, and perpetuate our friendſhip, to his glory, and the ſupport of his orthodox church.

Your high and mightineſſes moſt devoted.

From our Court at Weſtminſter,
Nov.—, 1657.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the UNITED PROVINCES.

Moſt High and Mighty Lords, our deareſt Friends and Confederates;

GEORGE DOWNING is a perſon of eminent quality, and after a long trial of his fidelity, probity, and diligence, in ſeveral and various negotiations, well approved and valued by us. Him we have thought fitting to ſend to your lordſhips, dignified with the character of our agent, and amply furniſhed with our inſtructions. We therefore deſire your lordſhips, to receive him kindly, and that ſo often as he ſhall ſignify that he has any thing to impart in our name to your lordſhips, you will admit him free audience, and give the ſame credit to him, and entruſt him with whatſoever you have to communicate to us, which you may ſafely do, as if ourſelves were perſonally preſent. And ſo we beſeech Almighty God to bleſs your lordſhips, and your republic with all proſperity, to the glory of God and the ſupport of his Church.

Your high and mightineſſes moſt affectionate,

From our court at Whitehall, December —, 1657. OLIVER, &c.

To the States of HOLLAND.

THERE being an alliance between our republic and yours, and thoſe affairs to be tranſacted on both ſides that without an agent and interpreter, ſent either by yourſelves, or from us, matters of ſuch great moment can hardly be adjuſted to the advantage of both nations, we thought it conducing to the common good of both republics, to ſend George Downing, a perſon of eminent quality, and long in our knowledge and eſteem for his undoubted fidelity, probity, and diligence, in many and various negotiations, dignified with the character of our agent, to reſide with your lordſhips, and chiefly to take care of thoſe things, by which the peace between us may be preſerved entire and diuturnal. Concerning which we have not only written to the States, but alſo thought it

it requiſite to give notice alſo of the ſame to your lordſhips, ſupreme in the government of your province, and who make ſo conſiderable a part of the United Provinces; to the end you may give that reception to our reſident which becomes him, and that whatever he tranſacts with your High and Mighty States, you may aſſure yourſelves, ſhall be as firm and irrevocable, as if ourſelves had been preſent in the negotiation. Now the moſt merciful God direct all your counſels and actions to his glory, and the peace of his church.

Weſtm. Decemb. —, 1657.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene Prince, FERDINAND, Great Duke of TUSCANY.

Moſt Serene Great Duke, our much honoured Friend,

YOUR highneſs's letters, bearing date from Florence the 10th of November, gave us no ſmall occaſion of content and ſatisfaction; finding therein your goodwill towards us, ſo much the more conſpicuous, by how much deeds than words, performances than promiſes, are the more certain marks of a cordial affection. For what we requeſted of your highneſs, that you would command the maſter of the Little Lewis, William Ellis, (who moſt ignominiouſly broke his faith with the Turks,) and the ſhip and goods to be ſeized and detained, till reſtitution ſhould be made to the Turks, leſt the Chriſtian name ſhould receive any blemiſh by thieveries of the like nature; all thoſe things, and that too with an extraordinary zeal, as we moſt gladly underſtood before, your highneſs writes that you have ſeen diligently performed. We therefore return our thanks for the kindneſs received, and make it our farther requeſt, that when the merchants have given ſecurity to ſatisfy the Turks, the maſter may be diſcharged, and the ſhip, together with her lading, be forthwith diſmiſſed, to the end we may not ſeem to have had more care perhaps of the Turks intereſt,

intereſt, than our own countrymen. In the mean time, we take ſo kindly this ſurpaſſing favour done us by your highneſs, and moſt acceptable to us, that we ſhould not refuſe to be branded with ingratitude, if we ſhould not ardently deſire a ſpeedy opportunity, with the ſame promptitude of mind, to gratify your highneſs, whereby we might be enabled to demonſtrate our readineſs to return the ſame good offices to ſo noble a benefactor upon all occaſions.

Your highneſs's moſt affectionate,

From our court at Weſtminſter, December —, 1657. OLIVER, &c.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS, &c.

Moſt Serene and Potent Prince, our moſt Invincible Friend and Confederate;

BY your majeſty's letters, dated the 21ſt of February from your camp in Seland, we found many reaſons to be affected with no ſmall joy, as well for our own particular, as in regard of the whole Chriſtian republic in general. In the firſt place, becauſe the king of Denmark, being become an enemy, not induced thereto, as we are apt to believe, by his own inclinations or intereſts, but deluded by the artifices of our common adverſaries, is reduced to that condition by your ſudden eruption into the very heart of his kingdom, with very little bloodſhed on either ſide, that, what was really true, he will at length be perſuaded, that peace would have been more beneficial to him, than the war which he has entered into againſt your majeſty. Then again, when he ſhall conſider with himſelf, that he cannot obtain it by any more ſpeedy means, than by making uſe of our aſſiſtance, long ſince offered him to procure a reconciliation, in regard your majeſty ſo readily intreated by the letters only delivered by our agent, by ſuch an eaſy conceſſion of peace, moſt clearly made it apparent how highly you eſteemed the

the interceſſion of our friendſhip, he will certainly apply himſelf to us; and then our interpoſition in ſo pious a work will chiefly require, that we ſhould be the ſole reconciler and almoſt author of that peace, ſo beneficial to the intereſts of the proteſtants; which, as we hope, will ſuddenly be accompliſhed. For when the enemies of religion ſhall deſpair of breaking your united forces by any other means than ſetting both your majeſties at variance, then their own fears will overtake them, leſt this unexpected conjunction, which we ardently deſire, of your arms and minds, ſhould turn to the deſtruction of them that were the kindlers of the war. In the mean time, moſt magnanimous king, may your proweſs go on and proſper; and the ſame felicity, which the enemies of the church have admired in the progreſs of your achievements, and the ſteady career of your victories againſt a prince, now your confederate, the ſame by God's aſſiſtance, may you enforce them to behold once more in their ſubverſion.

From our palace at Weſtminſter,
March 30, 1658.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene Prince, FERDINAND, Great Duke of TUSCANY.

Moſt Serene Prince,

THE anſwer, which we have given to your agent here reſiding, we believe, will fully ſatisfy your highneſs as to our admiral, who but lately put into your ports. In the mean time, John Hoſier, maſter of a ſhip called the Owner, has ſet forth in a petition to us, that in April 1656, he hired out his ſhip by a charty-party agreement, to one Joſeph Arman, an Italian, who manifeſtly broke all the covenants therein contained; ſo that he was enforced, leſt he ſhould loſe his ſhip and lading, together with his whole principal ſtock, openly to ſet forth the fraud of his freighter, after the manner of merchants; and when he had cauſed it to be regiſtered by a public notary,

notary, to ſue him at Leghorn. Joſeph, on the other ſide, that he might make good one fraud by another, combining with two other litigious traders, upon a feigned pretence, by perjury, ſeized upon ſix thouſand pieces of eight, the money of one Thomas Clutterbuck. But as for his part, the ſaid Hoſier, after great expenſes and loſs of time, could never obtain his right and due at Leghorn: nor durſt he there appear in court, being threatened as he was, and waylaid by his adverſaries. We therefore requeſt your highneſs, that you would vouchſafe your aſſiſtance to this poor oppreſſed man, and according to your wonted juſtice, reſtrain the inſolence of his adverſary. For in vain are laws ordained for the government of cities by the authority of princes, if wrong and violence, when they cannot abrogate, ſhall be able by threats and terrour to fruſtrate the refuge and ſanctuary of the laws. However, we make no doubt, but that your highneſs will ſpeedily take care to puniſh a daring boldneſs of this nature; beſeeching Almighty God to bleſs your highneſs with peace and proſperity.

From our court at Weſtminſter,
April 7, 1658.

To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS, King of FRANCE.

Moſt Serene and Potent King, and moſt Auguſt Friend and Confederate;

YOUR majeſty may call to mind, that at the ſame time, when the renewing the league between us was in agitation, and no leſs auſpiciouſly concluded, as the many advantages from thence accruing to both nations, and the many annoyances thence attending the common enemy, ſufficiently teſtify; thoſe dreadful butcheries befel the Piedmontois, and that we recommended, with great fervency of mind and compaſſion, their cauſe, on all ſides forſaken and afflicted, to your commiſeration and protection. Nor do we believe that your majeſty, of your-

ſelf,

ſelf, was wanting in a duty ſo pious, that we may not ſay, beſeeming common humanity, as far as your authority, and the veneration due to your perſon, could prevail with the duke of Savoy. Certain we are, that neither ourſelves, nor many other princes and cities were wanting in our performances, by the interpoſition of embaſſies, letters, and intreaties. After a moſt bloody butchery of both ſexes, and all ages, at length peace was granted, or rather a certain clandeſtine hoſtility covered over with the name of peace. The conditions of peace were agreed in your town of Pignerol; ſevere and hard, but ſuch as thoſe miſerable and indigent creatures, after they had ſuffered all that could be endured that was oppreſſive and barbarous, would have been glad of, had they been but obſerved, as hard and unjuſt as they were. But by falſe conſtructions, and various evaſions, the aſſurances of all theſe articles are eluded and violated: many are thruſt out from their ancient abodes; many are forbid the exerciſe of their religion, new tributes are exacted, a new citadel is impoſed upon them; from whence the ſoldiers frequently making excurſions, either plunder or murder all they meet. Add to all this, that new levies are privately preparing againſt them, and all that embrace the proteſtant religion are commanded to depart by a prefixed day; ſo that all things ſeem to threaten the utter extermination of thoſe deplorable wretches, whom the former maſſacre ſpared. Which I moſt earneſtly beſeech and conjure ye, moſt Chriſtian king, by that RIGHT HAND which ſigned the league and friendſhip between us, by that ſame goodly ornament of your title of MOST CHRISTIAN, by no means to ſuffer, nor to permit ſuch liberty of rage and fury uncontrolled, we will not ſay, in any prince, (for certainly ſuch barbarous ſeverity could never enter the breaſt of any prince, much leſs ſo tender in years, nor into the female thoughts of his mother) but in thoſe ſanctified cutthroats, who, profeſſing themſelves to be the ſervants and diſciples of our Saviour Chriſt, who came into the world to ſave ſinners, abuſe his meek and peaceful name and precepts to the moſt cruel ſlaughter of the innocent. Reſcue,

you

you that are able in your towering ſtation, worthy to be able, reſcue ſo many ſuppliants proſtrate at your feet, from the hands of ruffians, who, lately drunk with blood, again thirſt after it, and think it their ſafeſt way to throw the odium of their cruelty upon princes. But as for you, great prince, ſuffer not, while you reign, your titles, nor the confines of your kingdom, to be contaminated with this ſame Heaven-offending ſcandal, nor the peaceful goſpel of Chriſt to be defiled with ſuch abominable cruelty. Remember, that they ſubmitted themſelves to your grandfather Henry, moſt friendly to the proteſtants, when the victorious Leſdiguieres purſued the retreating Savoyard over the Alps. There is alſo an inſtrument of that ſubmiſſion regiſtered among the public acts of your kingdom, wherein it is excepted and provided among other things, that from that time forward the Piedmontois ſhould not be delivered over into the power of any ruler, but upon the ſame condition upon which your invincible grandfather received them into his protection. This protection of your grandfather theſe ſuppliants now implore from you as grandchild. It is your majeſty's part, to whom thoſe people now belong, to give them that protection which they have choſen, by ſome exchange of habitation, if they deſire it, and it may be done: or if that be a labour too difficult, at leaſt to ſuccour them with your patronage, your commiſeration, and your admittance into ſanctuary. And there are ſome reaſons of ſtate, to encourage your majeſty not to refuſe the Piedmontois a ſafe aſylum in your kingdom: but I am unwilling that you, ſo great a king, ſhould be induced to the defence and ſuccour of the miſerable by any other arguments than thoſe of your anceſtor's pledged faith, your own piety, royal benignity, and magnanimity. Thus the immaculate and intire glory of a moſt egregious act will be your own, and you will find the father of mercy, and his ſon, king Chriſt, whoſe name and doctrine you have vindicated from nefarious inhumanity, ſo much the more favourable and propitious to your majeſty, all your days. The God

God of mercy and power infuſe into your majeſty's heart a reſolution, to defend and ſave ſo many innocent chriſtians, and maintain your own honour.

Weſtminſter, May —, 1658.

To the Evangelic Cities of the SWITZERS.

Illuſtrious and moſt Noble Lords, our deareſt Friends;

'HOW heavy and intolerable the ſufferings of the Piedmontois, your moſt afflicted neighbours, have been, and how unmercifully they have been dealt with by their own prince, for the ſake of their religion, by reaſon of the fellneſs of the cruelties, we almoſt tremble to remember, and thought it ſuperfluous to put you in mind of thoſe things, which are much better known to your lordſhips. We have alſo ſeen copies of the letters which your embaſſadors, promoters and witneſſes of the peace concluded at Pignerol, wrote to the duke of Savoy, and the preſident of his council at Turin; wherein they ſet forth, and make it out, that all the conditions of the ſaid peace are broken, and were rather a ſnare than a ſecurity to thoſe miſerable people. Which violation continued from the concluſion of the peace till this very moment, and ſtill growing more heavy every day than other; unleſs they patiently endure, unleſs they lay themſelves down to be trampled under foot, plaſhed like morter, or abjure their religion, the ſame calamities, the ſame ſlaughters hang over their heads, which three years ſince made ſuch a dreadful havoc of them, their wives, and children; and which, if it muſt be undergone once more, will certainly prove the utter extirpation of their whole race. What ſhall ſuch miſerable creatures do? in whoſe behalf no interceſſion will avail, to whom no breathing time is allowed, nor any certain place of refuge. They have to do with wild beaſts, or furies rather, upon whom the remembrance of their former murders has wrought no compaſſion upon their countrymen, no ſenſe of humanity, nor ſatiated their

ravenous thirſt after blood. Moſt certainly theſe things are not to be endured, if we deſire the ſafety of our brethren the Piedmontois, moſt ancient profeſſors of the orthodox faith, or the welfare of our religion itſelf. As for ourſelves ſo far remote, we have not been wanting to aſſiſt them as far as in us lay, nor ſhall we ceaſe our future aid. But you, who not only lie ſo near adjoining, as to behold the butcheries, and to hear the outcries and ſhrieks of the diſtreſſed, but are alſo next expoſed to the fury of the ſame enemies; conſider for the ſake of the immortal God, and that in time, what it behoves ye now to do: conſult your prudence, your piety, and your fortitude; what ſuccour, what relief and ſafeguard you are able, and are bound to afford your neighbours and brethren, who muſt elſe undoubtedly and ſpeedily periſh. Certainly the ſame religion is the cauſe, why the ſame enemies alſo ſeek your perdition; why, at the ſame time the laſt year, they meditated your ruin, by inteſtine broils among yourſelves. It ſeems to be only in your power, next under God, to prevent the extirpation of this moſt ancient ſcion of the purer religion, in thoſe remainders of the primitive believers; whoſe preſervation, now reduced to the very brink of utter ruin, if you neglect, beware that the next turn be not your own. Theſe admonitions, while we give ye freely, and out of brotherly love, we are not quite as yet caſt down: for what lies only in our power ſo far diſtant, as we have hitherto, ſo ſhall we ſtill employ our utmoſt endeavours, not only to procure the ſafety of our brethren upon the precipice of danger, but alſo to relieve their wants. May the Almighty God vouchſafe to both of us, that peace and tranquillity at home, that ſettlement of times and affairs, that we may be able to employ all our wealth and force, all our ſtudies and counſels in the defence of his church againſt the rage and fury of her enemies.

From our court at Whitehall, May —, 1658.

To his Eminency, Cardinal MAZARINE.

Moſt Eminent Lord,

THE late moſt grievous cruelties, and moſt bloody ſlaughters perpetrated upon the inhabitants of the valleys of Piedmont, within the duke of Savoy's dominions, occaſioned the writing of the encloſed letters to his majeſty, and theſe other to your eminency. And as we make no doubt but that ſuch tyranny, and inhumanities, ſo rigorouſly inflicted upon harmleſs and indigent people, are highly diſpleaſing and offenſive to the moſt ſerene king; ſo we readily perſuade ourſelves, that what we requeſt from his majeſty in behalf of thoſe unfortunate creatures, your eminency will employ your endeavour and your favour to obtain, as an accumulation to our interceſſions. Seeing there is nothing which has acquired more goodwill and affection to the French nation, among all the neighbouring profeſſors of the reformed religion, than that liberty and thoſe privileges, which by public acts and edicts are granted in that kingdom to the proteſtants. And this among others was one main reaſon, why this republic ſo ardently deſired the friendſhip and alliance of the French people. For the ſettling of which we are now treating with the king's embaſſador, and have made thoſe progreſſes, that the treaty is almoſt brought to a concluſion. Beſides that, your eminency's ſingular benignity and moderation, which in the management of the moſt important affairs of the kingdom you have always teſtified to the proteſtants of France, encourages us to expect what we promiſe to ourſelves from your prudence and generoſity; whereby you will not only lay the foundations of a ſtricter alliance between this republic and the kingdom of France, but oblige us in particular to returns of all good offices of civility and kindneſs: and of this we deſire your eminency to reſt aſſured.

Your eminency's moſt affectionate.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS, King of FRANCE.

Moſt Serene and Mighty King, our moſt Auguſt Friend and Confederate;

IT being the intention of Thomas viſcount Falconbridge, our ſon-in-law, to travel into France, and no leſs his deſire, out of his profound reſpect and veneration to your majeſty, to be admitted to kiſs your royal hands; though by reaſon of his pleaſing converſation we are unwilling to part with him, nevertheleſs not doubting but he will in a ſhort time return from the court of ſo great a prince, celebrated for the reſort of ſo many prudent and courageous perſons, more nobly prepared for great performances, and fully accompliſhed in whatſoever may be thought moſt laudable and virtuous, we did not think it fit to put a ſtop to his generous reſolutions. And though he be a perſon, who, unleſs we deceive ourſelves, carries his own recommendations about him, whereſoever he goes; yet if he ſhall find himſelf ſomewhat the more favoured by your majeſty for our ſake, we ſhall think ourſelves honoured and obliged by the ſame kindneſs. God Almighty long preſerve your majeſty in ſafety, and continue a laſting peace between us, to the common good of the chriſtian world.

From our court at Whitehall,
May—, 1658.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Eminent Lord, Cardinal MAZARINE.

Moſt Eminent Lord,

HAVING recommended to the moſt ſerene king Thomas Viſcount Falconbridge our ſon-in-law, deſirous to ſee France; we could not but acquaint your eminency with it, and recommend him in like manner to yourſelf,

yourſelf, not ignorant of what moment and importance it will be to our recommendation firſt given him. For certainly, what benefit or advantage he ſhall reap by reſiding in your country, which he hopes will not be ſmall, he cannot but be beholden for the greateſt part of it to your favour and goodwill; whoſe ſingle prudence and vigilancy ſupports and manages the grand affairs of that kingdom. Whatever therefore grateful obligation your eminency ſhall lay upon him, you may be aſſured you lay upon ourſelves, and that we ſhall number it among your many kindneſſes and civilities already ſhown us.

Weſtminſter, May —, 1658.

OLIVER, Protector, &c., To the moſt Eminent Lord, Cardinal MAZARINE.

Moſt Eminent Lord,

HAVING ſent the moſt illuſtrious Thomas Bellaſis, viſcount Falconbridge, our ſon-in-law, to congratulate the king upon his arrival in the camp at Dunkirk; I gave him order to attend and wiſh your eminency long life and health in our name, and to return thanks to your eminency, by whoſe fidelity, prudence, and vigilancy, it chiefly comes to paſs, that the affairs of France are carried on with ſuch ſucceſs in ſeveral parts, but more eſpecially in near adjoining Flanders, againſt our common enemy the Spaniard; from whom we hope that open and armed courage now will ſoon exact a rigorous account of all his frauds and treacheries. Which that it may be ſpeedily done, we ſhall not be wanting, either with our forces, as far as in us lies, or with our prayers to Heaven.

From our court at Whitehall,
May —, 1658.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS, King of FRANCE.

Moſt Serene and Potent Prince, our moſt Auguſt Friend and Confederate;

SO ſoon as the news was brought us, that your majeſty was arrived in your camp, and was ſate down with ſo conſiderable an army before Dunkirk, that infamous neſt of pirates, and place of refuge for ſearobbers, we were greatly overjoyed, in certain aſſurance that in a ſhort time now, with God's aſſiſtance, the ſeas will be more open and leſs infeſted by thoſe plundering rovers; and that your majeſty, by your military proweſs, will now take ſpeedy vengeance of the Spaniſh frauds; by whom one captain was by gold corrupted to the betraying of Heſden, another treacherouſly ſurpriſed at Oſtend. We therefore ſend the moſt noble Thomas viſcount Falconbridge, our ſon-in-law, to congratulate your majeſty's arrival in your camp ſo near us, and that your majeſty may underſtand from his own lips, with what affection we labour the proſperity of your achievements, not only with our united forces, but our cordial prayers, that God would long preſerve your majeſty, and perpetuate our eſtabliſhed friendſhip, to the common good of the chriſtian world.

From our court at Weſtminſter,
May —, 1658.

To the moſt Serene Prince, FERDINAND, Grand Duke of TUSCANY.

Moſt Serene Great Duke,

IN regard your highneſs in your letters has ever ſignified your extraordinary affection toward us, we are not a little grieved, that either it ſhould be ſo obſcurely imparted to your governors and miniſters, or by them ſo ill interpreted, that we can reap no benefit or ſign of it in your port of Leghorn; where your friendſhip to-

wards us ought to be moſt clearly and truly underſtood: rather, that we ſhould find the minds of your ſubjects daily more averſe and hoſtile in their demeanour toward us. For how unkindly our fleet was lately treated at Leghorn, how little accommodated with neceſſary ſupplies, in what a hoſtile manner twice conſtrained to depart the harbour, we are ſufficiently given to underſtand, as well from undoubted witneſſes upon the place, as from our admiral himſelf, to whoſe relation we cannot but give credit, when we have thought him worthy to command our fleet. Upon his firſt arrival in January, after he had cauſed our letters to be delivered to your highneſs, and all offices of civility had paſſed between our people and yours; when he deſired the accommodation of Porto Ferraro; anſwer was made, it could not be granted, leſt the king of Spain, that is to ſay our enemy, ſhould be offended. And yet what is there which a prince in friendſhip more frequently allows to his confederate, than free entrance into his ports and harbours? Or what is there that we can expect from a friendſhip of this nature, more ready to do us unkindneſs than befriend us, or aid us with the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance, for fear of provoking the diſpleaſure of our enemies? At firſt indeed, prattic was allowed, though only to two or three of our ſeamen out of every ſhip, who had the favour to go aſhore. But ſoon after, it being noiſed in the town, that our ſhips had taken a Dutch veſſel laden with corn for Spain, that little prattic we had was prohibited; Longland the Engliſh conſul was not permitted to go aboard the fleet; the liberty of taking in freſh water, which is ever free to all that are not open enemies, was not ſuffered, but under armed guards, at a ſevere rate; and our merchants, which reſide in the town to the vaſt emolument of your people, were forbid to viſit their countrymen, or aſſiſt them in the leaſt. Upon his laſt arrival, toward the latter end of March, nobody was ſuffered to come aſhore. The fifth day after, when our admiral had taken a ſmall Neapolitan veſſel, which fell into our hands by chance, above two hundred great ſhot were made at our fleet from the town, though without any

damage to us. Which was an argument, that what provoked your governors without a cauſe, as if the rights of your harbour had been violated, was done out at ſea, at a great diſtance from your town, or the juriſdiction of your caſtle. Preſently our long boats, ſent to take in freſh water, were aſſailed in the port, and one taken and detained; which being redemanded, anſwer was made, that neither the ſkiff nor the ſeamen ſhould be reſtored, unleſs the Neapolitan veſſel were diſmiſſed; though certain it is, that ſhe was taken in the open ſea, where it was lawful to ſeize her. So that ours, after many inconveniencies ſuffered, were forced at length to ſet ſail, and leave behind them the proviſion, for which they had paid ready money. Theſe things, if they were not done by your highneſs's conſent and command, as we hope they were not, we deſire you would make it appear by the puniſhment of the governor, who ſo eaſily preſumed to violate his maſter's alliances; but if they were done with your highneſs's approbation and order, we would have your highneſs underſtand, that as we always had a ſingular value for your friendſhip, ſo we have learnt to diſtinguiſh between injuries and acts of kindneſs.

Your good friend, ſo far as we may,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

From our court at Whitehall, May—, 1658.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS, King of FRANCE.

Moſt Serene and Potent Prince, our moſt Auguſt Confederate and Friend;

BY ſo ſpeedily repaying our profound reſpect to your majeſty, with an accumulation of honour, by ſuch an illuſtrious embaſſy to our court; you have not only made known to us, but to all the people of England, your ſingular benignity and generoſity of mind, but alſo

alſo how much you favour our reputation and dignity: for which we return our moſt cordial thanks to your majeſty, as juſtly you have merited from us. As for the victory which God has given, moſt fortunate, to our united forces againſt our enemies, we rejoice with your majeſty for it; and that our people in that battle were not wanting to your aſſiſtance, nor the military glory of their anceſtors, nor their own priſtine fortitude, is moſt grrteful to us. As for Dunkirk, which, as your majeſty wrote, you were in hopes was near ſurrender: it is a great addition to our joy, to hear from your majeſty ſuch ſpeedy tidings, that it is abſolutely now in your victorious hands; and we hope moreover, that the loſs of one city will not ſuffice to repay the twofold treachery of the Spaniard, but that your majeſty will in a ſhort time write us the welcome news of the ſurrender alſo of the other town. As to your promiſe, that you will take care of our intereſts, we miſtruſt it not in the leaſt, upon the word of a moſt excellent king, and our moſt aſſured friend, confirmed withal by your embaſſador, the moſt accompliſhed duke of Crequi. Laſtly, we beſeech Almighty God to proſper your majeſty and the affairs of France, both in peace and war.

Weſtminſter, June —, 1658.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Eminent Lord, Cardinal MAZARINE.

Moſt Eminent Lord,

WHILE we are returning thanks to the moſt ſerene king, who to honour and congratulate us, as alſo to intermix his joy with ours for the late glorious victory, has ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to our court; we ſhould be ungrateful, ſhould we not alſo by our letters, pay our due acknowledgments to your eminency; who, to teſtify your goodwill towards us, and how much you make it your ſtudy to do us all the honour which lies within your power, have ſent your nephew to us, a moſt

moſt excellent and moſt accompliſhed young gentleman; and if you had any nearer relation, or any perſon whom you valued more, would have ſent him more eſpecially to us, as you declare in your letters; adding withal the reaſon, which, coming from ſo great a perſonage, we deem no ſmall advantage to our praiſe and ornament; that is to ſay, to the end that they, who are moſt nearly related to your eminency in blood, might learn to imitate your eminency, in ſhowing reſpect and honour to our perſon. And we would have it not to be their meaneſt ſtrife to follow your example of civility, candour, and friendſhip to us; ſince there are not more conſpicuous examples of extraordinary prudence and virtue to be imitated than in your eminency; from whence they may learn with equal renown to govern kingdoms, and manage the moſt important affairs of the world. Which that your eminency may long and happily adminiſter, to the proſperity of the whole realm of France, to the common good of the whole chriſtian republic, and your own glory, we ſhall never be wanting in our prayers to implore.

Your excellency's moſt affectionate.

From our court at Whitehall, June —, 1658.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene and Potent Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS, &c.

Moſt Serene and Potent Prince, our deareſt Confederate and Friend;

AS often as we behold the buſy counſels, and various artifices of the common enemies of religion, ſo often do we revolve in our minds how neceſſary it would be, and how much for the ſafety of the chriſtian world, that the proteſtant princes, and moſt eſpecially your majeſty, ſhould be united with our republic in a moſt ſtrict and ſolemn confederacy. Which how ardently and zealouſly it has been ſought by ourſelves, how acceptable

ceptable it would have been to us, if ours, and the affairs of Swedeland, had been in that poſture and condition, if the ſaid league could have been ſacredly concluded to the good liking of both, and that the one could have been a ſeaſonable ſuccour to the other, we declared to your embaſſadors, when firſt they entered into treaty with us upon this ſubject. Nor were they wanting in their duty; but the ſame prudence which they were wont to ſhow in other things, the ſame wiſdom and ſedulity they made known in this affair. But ſuch was the perfidiouſneſs of our wicked and reſtleſs countrymen at home, who, being often received into our protection, ceaſed not however to machinate new diſturbances, and to reſume their formerly often fruſtrated and diſſipated conſpiracies with our enemies the Spaniards, that being altogether taken up with the preſervation of ourſelves from ſurrounding dangers, we could not bend our whole care, and our entire forces, as we wiſhed we could have done, to defend the common cauſe of religion. Nevertheleſs what lay in our power we have already zealouſly performed: and whatever for the future may conduce to your majeſty's intereſts, we ſhall not only ſhow ourſelves willing, but induſtrious to carry on, in union with your majeſty, upon all occaſions. In the mean time we moſt gladly congratulate your majeſty's victories, moſt prudently and courageouſly achieved, and in our daily prayers implore Almighty God long to continue to your majeſty a ſteady courſe of conqueſt and felicity, to the glory of his name.

From our court at Whitehall, June —, 1658.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., To the moſt Serene Prince, the King of PORTUGAL.

Moſt Serene King, our Friend and Confederate;

JOHN BUFFIELD, of London, merchant, has ſet forth in a petition to us, that in the year 1649, he delivered

livered certain goods to Anthony, John, and Manuel Ferdinando Caſtaneo, merchants in Tamira, to the end that after they had ſold them, they might give him a juſt account, according to the cuſtom of merchants: after which, in his voyage for England, he fell into the hands of pirates; and being plundered by them, received no ſmall damage. Upon this news, Anthony and Manuel, believing he had been killed, preſently looked upon the goods as their own, and ſtill detain them in their hands, refuſing to come to any account; covering this fraud of theirs with a ſequeſtration of Engliſh goods, that ſoon after enſued. So that he was forced the laſt year, in the middle of winter, to return to Portugal and demand his goods, but all in vain. For that the ſaid John and Anthony could by no fair means be perſuaded, either to deliver the ſaid goods, or come to any account; and which is more to be admired, juſtified their private detention of the goods by the public attainder. Finding therefore that being a ſtranger, he ſhould get nothing by contending with the inhabitants of Tamira in their own country, he betook himſelf for juſtice to your majeſty: humbly demanded the judgment of the conſervator, appointed to determine the cauſes of the Engliſh; but was ſent back to the cognizance of that court, from which he had appealed. Which though in itſelf not unjuſt, yet ſeeing it is evident, that the merchants of Tamira make an ill uſe of your public edict to juſtify their own private cozenage, we make it our earneſt requeſt to your majeſty, that according to your wonted clemency you would rather refer to the conſervator, being the proper judge in theſe caſes, the cauſe of this poor man afflicted by many caſualties, and reduced to utmoſt poverty; to the end he may recover the remainder of his fortunes from the faithleſs partnerſhip of thoſe people. Which when you rightly underſtand the buſineſs, we make no queſtion, but will be no leſs pleaſing to your majeſty to ſee done, than to ourſelves. From our court at Weſtminſter, Aug. 1658.

To the moſt Serene Prince, LEOPOLD, Archduke of AUSTRIA, Governor of the Low Countries under PHILIP King of SPAIN.

Moſt Serene Lord,

CHARLES Harbord, knight, has ſet forth in his petition to us that having ſent certain goods and houſehold-ſtuff out of Holland to Bruges under your juriſdiction, he is in great danger of having them arreſted out of his hands by force and violence. For that thoſe goods were ſent him out of England in the year 1643, by the earl of Suffolk, for whom he ſtood bound in a great ſum of money, to the end he might have wherewithal to ſatisfy himſelf, ſhould he be compelled to pay the debt. Which goods are now in the poſſeſſion of Richard Greenville, knight, who broke open the doors of the place where they were in cuſtody, and made a violent ſeizure of the ſame, under pretence of we know not what due to him from Theophilus earl of Suffolk, by virtue of a certain decree of our court of chancery, to which thoſe goods, as being the earl's, were juſtly liable; whereas by our laws, neither the earl now living, whoſe goods they are, is bound by that decree, neither ought the goods to be ſeized or detained; which the ſentence of that court, now ſent to your ſerenity, together with theſe letters, poſitively declares and proves. Which letters the ſaid Charles Harbord has deſired of us, to the end we would make it our requeſt to your highneſs, that the ſaid goods may be forthwith diſcharged from the violent ſeizure, and no leſs unjuſt action of the ſaid Richard Greenville, in regard it is apparently againſt the cuſtom and law of nations, that any perſon ſhould be allowed the liberties to ſue in a foreign juriſdiction upon a plaint, wherein he can have no relief in the country where the cauſe of action firſt aroſe. Therefore the reaſon of juſtice itſelf, and your far celebrated equanimity encouraged us to recommend this cauſe to your highneſs; aſſuring your highneſs,

highneſs, that whenever any diſpute ſhall happen in our courts concerning the rights and properties of your people, you ſhall ever find us ready and quick in our returns of favour. Weſtminſter —

Your highneſs's moſt affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England.

THE END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

Luke Hanford, printer,
near Lincoln's Inn Fields.

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